

TITLE

HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS

FROM

AUGUSTUS

TO THE

DEATH OF MARCUS ANTONINUS.

BY THE LATE
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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK
EARL OF CARLISLE,
VISCOUNT MOMPETH,
&c. &c. &c.

A NOBLEMAN NO LESS DISTINGUISHED
FOR THE AMIABLE QUALITIES OF HIS HEART THAN FOR HIS
HIGH INTELLECTUAL ATTAINMENTS,

THIS HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS

IS

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION)

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S OBEDIENT

AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE EDITOR:

PREFACE.

IT has not been left to the Editor of the present History of the Roman Emperors to gather from the internal evidence of its pages, on what grounds it was undertaken, or what is the object it professes to accomplish. The views and intentions of its author—the late Rev. Robert Lynam—will be found in the following extract taken from his papers :—

“ While Hooke and many other authors have written upon the History of the Roman Republic, and while Gibbon has appropriated to himself the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, it is remarkable, that the intervening period has been almost totally neglected in English literature. The lives of the early Roman Emperors, which have been written in our language, may be considered as rapid sketches, rather than regular and accurate histories. The French have the voluminous works of Tillemont and Crevier upon this subject; and the latter of these authors is not unknown to English readers. But his work, if it had no other faults, is presented to us in

a translation, occupies part of the period selected by Gibbon, and is exceedingly diffuse, being extended to no less than ten volumes octavo. It is presumed, therefore, that the Lives of the first Emperors, written in English without prolixity, and carefully digested from the original Latin and Greek authors, may possess some claim to the attention of scholars and all readers of history." It appears, therefore, that Mr. Lynam undertook the task, he has thus achieved, on the ground, that there is not in the English language any original work of sterling merit, and acknowledged accuracy, treating of the events occurring between the periods occupied by Hooke and Gibbon respectively; and with the object of connecting the History of the Roman Republic with the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. In the following pages, he has filled up the gap existing between the two above-named great Historians;—taking up the narrative of events where the former leaves off, and leaving off where the latter, ceasing to give merely a barren outline of the occurrences of earlier ages, throws all his powers of delineation into a vivid picture of the times of which he treats.

The historical field thus left for Mr. Lynam to occupy affords ample space for the exercise of talent, and the display of taste. To use the language of Tacitus, the Romans had experienced *quid ultimum in libertate esset*; but now the case was reversed,

and, to again use the words of the same philosophical writer, they were to find *quid in servitute esset ultimum*. The Roman glory, indeed, at the period, here spoken of, was gradually advancing to its height: the Roman armies went forth “conquering, and to conquer”: foreign nations submitted to the yoke of the mighty mistress of the world, and foreign potentates were oftentimes compelled to bow to the dictation of even her subordinate officers. Abroad, with but trifling exceptions, all was bright: the Roman sun shone with meridian splendour, with only here and there a swift-passing cloud momentarily to dim its rays; but within the City itself, from the death of Augustus to the accession of Nerva, there was an almost-uninterrupted thick dark night, shrouding her liberties, obscuring her free institutions, and penetrating into the very homes of her children, so that men regarded freedom of action, and even freedom of speech, as the pleasing reminiscences of a dream that had fled never to return. The blood of slaughtered armies flowed in streams in nearly every foreign land; but the blood of Romans flowed also at home—in the streets of the Imperial City itself—polluted their very hearths, and defiled even the temples of their gods. The shout of victory was heard in the deep vallies, on the lofty mountain-tops, and across the broad plains of distant countries; but in Rome there arose the bitter wailing cry of human beings sacrificed to

uncontrouled absolutism, as victims to its revenge, its avarice, or even its thirst for human blood. Law, as such, there was none. The will of the Soldier abroad, and the will of the Emperor at home, were the sole acknowledged code of government. And, however much, in other respects, Rome and foreign lands differed from each other, in this they were on an equality under most of the early Emperors—the sword was the only sceptre by which they were ruled. There are, indeed, here and there occasional bright spots in the records of those ages, but they are few and trifling; so that their very existence tends only to make the surrounding gloom more palpable.

At the accession, however, of Nerva to the imperial power, the Romans imagined that they distinguished the dawning of a brighter day. Nor were they deceived. The arrival of peaceful, happy, times for their long-miserable City, proved a reality under the sway of that Emperor and his two immediate successors: while under the Antonines the Roman state rose to the highest pitch of prosperity and happiness that it was permitted to attain during the Empire.

To produce a work commensurate with the importance of such a subject as the above required the combined efforts of toil, perseverance, research, sound judgment, and learning of no ordinary description. Indeed, nothing short of a just union of these could suffice to blend the grand political and public events

recorded by Tacitus, and Dion Cassius, with the leading features of each Emperor's character drawn from the biographies of Suetonius, the Victors, Spartian, and Capitolinus, or gathered from incidental notices in the works of other writers—to assign to each circumstance its proper chronological order, and its due amount of importance—to bring it forward into the broad light as a main, essential, feature in the delineation of the great human drama of the period, or to throw it back into the shade as a mere adjunct required by taste, hereby presenting to the mind a grand historic picture, magnificent as a whole, correct in its detail, and harmonious in all its parts.

Enough, it is hoped, has been said to show the importance and the interesting nature of the present work. The general reader is herein supplied with information drawn from the original sources, carefully digested, and chronologically arranged, which—if he has heretofore approached the subject—he has had to glean from the diffuse translation of Crevier. The student is furnished with a record of the earlier history of Rome Imperial, concise indeed, yet amply sufficient for all ordinary purposes; while the references in the margin, verified, as they have been, with great care and labour, afford him the ready means of gaining access to much additional information not deemed of sufficient importance to be embodied in the work itself,

and yet, perhaps, useful for the elucidation of some point connected with his studies. The politician may here learn, how uncontrouled power, deposited in the hands of *one* person, will,—if not invariably, yet for the most part,—prove subversive of all liberty, public and private alike, as he may further gather, from other portions of History, that the uncontrouled power of the *many* is no less destructive of true freedom; and thus, from these two proved realities, he may find reason to be deeply thankful to the Giver of all Good for that adjusted balance of power, desired, though deemed visionary, by Tacitus, and yet existing in our own land, where, from the throne to the cottage all are free, because all are under the guardianship of laws, which tolerate no aggression on the clearly-defined rights of each. The Christian will see abundant cause for heart-felt gratitude that his lot is cast in the bright days of Gospel light, and not in the gross dark night of Heathenism; while the investigator of prophecy may behold the earlier portion of the prophetic vision* of the Apocalypse realized in the record of human events depicted in the latter portion of this work—from the closing years of Domitian's reign to the end of the reign of Marcus Antoninus—and, thus, from the fulfilment of the past in accordance with the Divine word, will feel and confess the certainty of what he is told in that same word “MUST BE HEREAFTER.”

* See Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, part 1, chap. 1.

By the judgment pronounced upon this work, Mr. Lynam's character as an author must stand or fall. It is the only one he has written: whenever his name has heretofore been attached to books, it has been merely as an Editor. Certainly it will be granted, that he has supplied what has long been a great *desideratum* in the literature of this country, and has produced a work derived from authentic records of the times of which he treats. Scholars, however, must decide upon its merits, and pronounce, whether it successfully delineates the varied aspect of the Roman State under its early Emperors.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL,

Feb. 1850.

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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE EMPEROR CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS.

CHAPTER I.

Octavius master of the Roman Empire.—Enters Rome in triumph.—Temple of Janus shut.—Octavius resolves not to resign his power.—Receives the title of Emperor.—Revises the Senate.—Thebes in Egypt destroyed.—Octavius, by pretending to relinquish his authority, constrains the Senate to confirm it.—Divides the provinces with them.—The mode of government which he adopts.—Receives the name of Augustus.—The power of the Emperors.

AFTER the battle of Actium and the death of Mark Antony, there was no competitor formidable enough, either by his talents or power, to contend with Octavius for the sovereignty of Rome, and the government of the civilized world. Pompey and Julius Cæsar, Brutus, Cassius, and Antony, had all perished in their projects for overturning or defending the Republic; and though Lepidus was allowed to live, he owed his preservation to nothing

but the contempt which was entertained for his abilities. Of all the ambitious chiefs, Octavius alone was destined to reap any permanent advantage from the long struggles, which had devastated the Roman empire with anarchy and bloodshed.

Suet. ii. 2, 4, 7.
Dion. xlv.

He was descended from an ancient equestrian family, in which his father C. Octavius was the first who bore the senatorian rank. His mother Accia was the daughter of M. Accius Balbus, and of Julia the sister of Julius Cæsar. His adoption by his great uncle was the beginning of his extraordinary fortune, and induced him to assume the name of C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. The first year of his sway, as emperor, is reckoned by some chronologers from the 1st of January preceding the battle of Actium, in the year of Rome 723, and before the Christian era 31; and as this computation appears the most simple, it will be adopted in the following history.

AUGUSTUS,
1.
B. C. 31.

AUGUSTUS,
3.
B. C. 29.

Dion. li.

Hor. Od. i. 37.

Dion. li.

Octavius in his fifth consulship* returned from Asia to Rome, and celebrated a series of triumphs, which continued three days. The first was for his successes over the Pannonians, Dalmatians, and others: the second for his naval victory at Actium: and the third for the conquest of Egypt. Of these the last was the most splendid. The proud Cleopatra, whose unbending spirit preferred death to the ignominy of a captive's lot, was compelled to contribute in some degree to the splendour of the conqueror's triumph; for an effigy, representing her death, was carried on a couch, and swelled the procession, in which her son and daughter were conducted alive. Her ornaments also were deposited in the temples, and a golden image of her was placed in the temple of Venus.

For the list of the consuls see the end of the volume.

The senate, before the return of Octavius to Rome, had ordered the temple of Janus to be shut, as if the empire had been in possession of profound peace. The tranquillity was not quite universal, as there were commotions among the Spaniards, Gauls, and Germans; but they were not considered important enough to disturb the pleasing picture of a general cessation from arms. This occurrence was particularly gratifying to Octavius, and was one which the Romans had but seldom witnessed; for it had happened but twice before, since the foundation of their city; first in the reign of Numa, and again in the period between the first and second Punic wars.

AUGUSTUS,

3.
B. C. 29.Dion. li.
Suet. ii. 22.

He dedicated the Julian Curia, which had been erected in honour of Julius Cæsar, and placed in it the statue of Victory, which had been brought from Tarentum to Rome. After performing these and many other acts in commemoration of his successes, he began seriously to deliberate on the most effectual method of securing the immense power, which he had acquired. As he was but little more than thirty years old, he was of a fit age to conceive and to execute the most extensive schemes of ambition. The fate, however, of his uncle would naturally be present to his imagination, and admonish him that he must conduct his plans with dexterity and caution. He is said to have revolved in his mind the expediency of laying down his arms, and of restoring the management of public affairs to the senate and people. Upon this subject he resorted to the advice of Agrippa and Mæcenas, who partook of all his secrets, and were his faithful counsellors in questions of difficulty. Agrippa exhorted him to resign his power; Mæcenas to retain it. The advice of the latter was more agree-

Dion. lii.

AUGUSTUS,
3.
B. C. 29.

able to Octavius; and the whole policy of his life was directed to the means of carrying it safely into execution.

Tac. Ann. i. 2.
Juv. Sat. x. 80.

He easily attached the military to his cause by liberal donatives. The people also were captivated by his bounty; and they, who formerly had the power of bestowing the richest offices and the highest commands, began to be contented, if they received bread for their support, and games for their entertainment. The tranquillity, which attended his sway, procured him the acquiescence of those who had been afflicted with the miseries and tumults of civil discord. There was scarcely any one to resist his designs, as the most resolute of the citizens had perished in battle, or by proscription: the surviving nobility were ensnared into submission by the wealth and honours, which were heaped upon them; and those, who had aggrandized themselves by the revolutions in the state, were unwilling to endanger their prosperity by an attachment to ancient freedom. The provinces were not averse to his rule, as the republican government had become odious to them by the contests of the nobles, and the avarice of the magistrates; and little protection was to be expected from the laws, when all rights were confounded by corruption and violence.

Tac. Ann. i. 2.
Dion. lili. liii.
xliii.

Octavius had laid aside the name of triumvir, and been satisfied with that of consul; but he received this year the title of *imperator* or emperor. This appellation properly signified nothing more than commander, and was bestowed upon generals after any remarkable success in the field. It was given to Julius Cæsar in a much wider sense, as denoting a real and extensive power. In the same latitude it was conferred upon Octavius; and he

and his successors, who could not without extreme peril have received the odious title of king, exercised absolute sway with impunity, while they disguised their power under the familiar name of *imperator*. The term *autocrat**, by which the Greek historians translate it, gives us a correct idea of the unlimited authority which accompanied it.

AUGUSTUS,
3.
R. C. 29.

In the office of censor, which he held in conjunction with Agrippa, he made a scrutiny of the senate; for during the civil wars many unworthy persons had gained admission into this body, and increased its members to the number of one thousand. He used no violence for the removal of these persons; but, having recommended that they themselves should pass a candid judgment upon their own qualifications, he first induced fifty of them to retire, and then a hundred and forty more. He inflicted no disgrace upon them, except that he published the names of the latter class, because they had not obeyed so promptly as the others. He created some new senators, and filled up the patrician families, many of which had been extinguished during the war. He ventured upon some arbitrary acts; for he excluded Q. Statilius from the tribuneship to which he had been elected, and ordered that no senator should leave Italy without procuring the permission of the senate†. This prohibition was still in force in the time of Dion, which was 250 years afterwards; except that senators who had possessions in Sicily and Gallia Narbonensis might go there freely, these provinces

* *Αυτοκράτωρ*.

† Dion says, without permission of the emperor. But from book ix. of his history, and from Suet. v. 23, it appears that the emperor's leave was not required until the reign of Claudius. It is certain, however, that the senate would always be guided by the inclinations of the prince.

AUGUSTUS, ^{3.} being too near and too tranquil to excite any
^{n. 629.} alarm.

Observing that many senators and other partisans of Antony viewed him with distrust, and being afraid that they might enter into some machinations against him, Octavius endeavoured to disarm them by declaring that he had burnt all the letters of Antony. Some of them were indeed destroyed; but the greater part he carefully preserved, and was perfidious enough afterwards to make use of them.

He summoned Antiochus king of Commagene, because he had treacherously killed an ambassador who had been sent to Rome by his brother, with whom he was at variance. The guilty prince was conducted before the senate, and being condemned was put to death.

AUGUSTUS,

^{4.}
 B. C. 28.

Usher.
 Dion. liii.

In the next year Octavius completed the census, and found the number of the Roman citizens to amount to four millions and sixty-three thousand. He dedicated the temple of Apollo in the Palatium, and finished the libraries. He exhibited, in conjunction with Agrippa, the games which had been decreed on account of the victory of Actium, and which were afterwards celebrated every five years. He distributed to the people four times as much corn as was usual, and assisted some of the senators with money, many of them being too poor to bear the expense of the ædileship. After these and other popular acts, he found himself so secure in his authority, that by a single edict he annulled all the severe laws which he had made in his triumvirate, and appointed his sixth consulship, which he was now holding, as the period for their repeal.

Tac. Ann. iii.
 28.

The renowned city of Thebes, in Egypt, which

had formerly been burned and plundered by Camby-
syes, was this year entirely destroyed by the
Romans on account of its revolt. Homer speaks
of its hundred gates; and Tacitus alludes to the
magnificence of those ruins, which even in the pre-
sent day excite the amazement of travellers.

AUGUSTUS,
4.
B.C. 28.
Usher.
II. ix. 383.
Tac. Ann. ii.
60.

As Octavius felt his power more firmly estab-
lished, he began to usurp all the offices of the
senate and the magistrates, and all the functions
of the laws. In this year his authority was so com-
pletely acknowledged, that it was reckoned by the
Romans as the beginning of his dynasty. Being
assured that his rule was essential to the tranquil-
lity of the empire, and having communicated his
real designs to the senators who were most friendly
to his cause, he entered the senate house, and read
an oration expressing sentiments and wishes the
most opposite to those which he actually enter-
tained. He declared that he voluntarily resigned
to them his whole authority, the command of the
armies, the administration of the laws, and the
government of the provinces, in order that his
countrymen might be convinced that he had never
aspired to this power, but had no other aim than
to avenge the death of his murdered father*, and
rescue the city from overwhelming calamities. The
senators, excepting the few who were in his confi-
dence, were amazed at this extraordinary annun-
ciation: they who wished, and they who were
afraid, that he was sincere, were equally con-
founded, but all deemed it the safest policy to
beseech him to retain his power. Their arguments,
concurring with the wishes of his mind, were of
course effectual; and for the better protection of
his person it was immediately decreed that the pay

AUGUSTUS,
5.
B. C. 27.
Tac. Ann. i. 2.
Dion. liii.

* After his adoption by Julius Cæsar, Octavius called himself his son.

AUGUSTUS, of his guards should be twice as much as that of the other troops.

5.
B. C. 27.

By this artifice Octavius, while he pretended to relinquish his authority, procured the confirmation of it from the senate and people. As he still however maintained a great semblance of moderation, he refused to undertake the government of all the provinces. He resigned the most tranquil ones to the senate, and retained such as were turbulent and warlike, under pretence that the senate might enjoy all the pleasures of command, while he sustained the burden and the danger; but his real motive was that he himself should possess the control of the troops, and leave all the other powers of the state weak and defenceless. The provinces assigned to the senate and people were Africa,* Asia,* Greece and Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicily, Crete, Libya Cyrenaica, Bithynia and Pontus, Sardinia and Hispania Bætica. Octavius kept the rest of Spain, including Tarraconensis and Lusitania, all the provinces of Gaul Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica, with Upper and Lower Germany on the west bank of the Rhine; also Coele Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. This division was not considered unalterable, as the emperor and the senate afterwards made an exchange of some of their provinces; but if any new countries were subjugated, they were always placed under the dominion of the emperors.

Dion. lili.

In order to allay the fears of the Romans, and make them less suspicious of his design of aspiring to absolute power, Octavius declared that he undertook the management of his provinces for only ten

* Africa *propria* and Asia *propria* are signified; the former comprehending the Carthaginian empire, the other Mysia, Phrygia, and some parts adjacent.

years, and that he would resign them even sooner, if they could be reduced to a state of tranquillity. Persons of senatorian rank were appointed over the provinces of the people, and all of these, whether they had borne the consular dignity or not, were called indiscriminately proconsuls. Their office was annual, and they were chosen by lot, except those who enjoyed any privilege on account of the number of their children, or marriage. They were attended with as many lictors as were allowed in the city, and assumed the ensigns of command as soon as they left the walls, and did not lay them down until their return. They were not however permitted to wear the military dress, nor the sword, which was considered the emblem of authority over the soldiers; but they had the power of death over other classes, though not over the troops. Africa and Asia were of such eminence that they were reserved for those who had been consuls: the rest of the provinces for the prætors. They were not however given to any one, until five years after he had borne his magistracy in the city; so that all who survived succeeded in obtaining the command. Subsequently, when the candidates appeared incompetent for the office, the emperors nominated as many persons as there were provinces, to cast lots for them: they sometimes sent men of their own selection, prolonged their authority beyond a twelvemonth, and even appointed knights instead of senators.

Octavius chose the rulers for his own provinces, but bestowed on them no higher title than his lieutenants or proprætors, even though they were men of consular rank. Their command was not annual, but continued as long as he pleased; and they wore the military dress and the sword, as

AUGUSTUS,
5.
B. C. 27.

AUGUSTUS,
5.
B. C. 27.

their jurisdiction was extended over the soldiers. They were allowed but six lictors, did not assume the ensigns of office until they arrived in their province, and relinquished them directly their command expired. Both the proconsuls and pro-prætors were forbidden to make any levy of troops in their provinces, or to raise any money beyond the sum which was appointed, without the command of the senate or emperor. As soon also as their successor arrived, they were to leave the province, and return to Rome within the space of three months. They received the emperor's instructions before they entered upon their government; and he allowed them a certain salary proportioned to their exigencies. But in ancient times they who undertook a public office, defrayed their own expenses.

If there was more than one Roman legion in any of the emperor's provinces, he entrusted the care of the troops to a particular commander, appointed by himself*, who was generally of prætorian, and sometimes of inferior rank. He had likewise in all the provinces officers called procurators; whose duty seems to have been to execute his private commands, and to superintend the collection and disbursement of the revenue. They were knights, and sometimes only freedmen; by degrees, however, their power was so much extended, that they acted with the authority of governors, like Pontius Pilate, the well known procurator of Judæa. -

Egypt, on account of the load of suspicion under which it laboured, was governed by a person of no higher rank than a knight. The great population

Dion. li. liii.
Tac. Ann. ii.
59.

* M. Tillemont thinks that this refers to the time of Dion rather than of Augustus, because under the early emperors the pro-prætors of Syria and other provinces often commanded several legions.

and fickleness of the inhabitants, the wealth of the country and the supplies of corn which it sent to Italy, together with its advantageous situation, which would enable a skilful leader long to defy the attacks of the Romans, not only deterred Octavius from entrusting it to the rule of a senator, but even from suffering any one to reside there without his special permission. So offensive were the Egyptians to him, that he prohibited them from holding the rank of senators at Rome, nor would he allow a senate at Alexandria, as there was in other cities of the empire. These restrictions continued in force until the time of Severus, who granted the Alexandrians the privilege of having a senate. His son Caracalla extended the favour, and admitted them into the senate at Rome.

AUGUSTUS,
5.
B.C. 27.

While the authority of the emperor was thus felt in all the provinces, his power was absolute at home. The ancient form of government by consuls, prætors, ediles, and quæstors, was nominally preserved; but they who bore these offices were entirely subservient to the emperor, and merely relieved him of so much of the burden of the state as he was unwilling to bear. Octavius enjoys the reputation of having restored the popular right of election, which had been infringed by Julius Cæsar and the triumvirs. But nothing was done in the assemblies of the people except by his dictation or permission: he nominated some of the magistrates himself, and allowed the people to choose the rest, provided they were fit candidates, and had not been guilty of combination and bribery.

Tac. Ann. i. 3.
Dion. lliii.
Suet. ii. 40.

The dignity of the consulship was greatly impaired by being conferred for a less period than a year. Two were appointed as usual at the period of election; but instead of holding the office for the

Dion. xlviii.

AUGUSTUS,
 5.
 B. C. 27.

Dion. liii.

whole twelvemonth, others were arbitrarily substituted in their place, and called minor consuls. These last were scarcely known beyond Italy. Thus the office which republican jealousy had ordained to be annual, was rendered contemptible by the policy of the emperors, who bestowed it merely for months or days. Cleander, the minion of Commodus, is said to have appointed twenty-five consuls in one year; but Dion declares this number to be greater than was known before or afterwards. Octavius had the command not only of all the troops, but also of the public revenues; for though they were professedly distinct from his own, yet they were equally at his disposal. His absolute power was renewed to him from time to time: the ten years for which he assumed it being expired, he continued receiving it for five or ten years longer, until the end of his days. This induced his successors, though the imperial dignity was bestowed upon them for life, to celebrate a feast every ten years, as if for the renewal of their power.

After Octavius had gone through the ceremony of resigning his authority, it was decreed that laurels should be placed before his house, and an oaken crown suspended over them, as symbols of his victories, and of his preservation of the lives of the citizens. It became customary also that the emperor's residence, wherever it happened to be, should be called *Palatium*, or palace; because Octavius dwelt in Mount Palatine, and the fame of Romulus had bestowed a certain majesty upon that spot. Octavius was actuated by a strong but puerile desire of receiving the name of Romulus, but was afraid that it would expose him to the suspicion of aspiring to kingly power. As it was thought necessary, however, to give him some

peculiar appellation, flattery at last invented that of *Augustus*, which appeared to surround his character with a certain degree of veneration and sanctity*. It continued to be given by the Romans to all those who were in possession of the imperial power, while the name of *Cæsar* indicated the family from which they pretended to trace their descent.

AUGUSTUS,
5.
B. C. 27.

Thus the entire power of the senate and the people became centred in one ruler, and the Roman government became an absolute monarchy in everything but in name. All the titles which had been used in the days of the republic, and all the privileges attached to them, were usurped by the emperors, with the exception of the dictatorship. They made themselves consuls whenever they pleased; and when they left Rome they enjoyed the authority of proconsuls. They possessed the right of levying armies, of raising money, of declaring war and making peace, and had such command over the lives of the citizens, that they could put knights and senators to death within the walls as well as without. Under the title of censors they exercised a scrutiny into the conduct and manners of the people, and could admit into the equestrian and senatorian orders, and remove from them, whomsoever they pleased. By holding the rank of chief pontiff, and by electing others into the priesthoods, they had the command of religious affairs as well as political. The office of tribunes of the people was considered derogatory to them as patricians; but, that they might not lose the influence connected with it, they were invested with the *tribunician power*,†, which enabled them

Dion. lili.

* The Greeks, therefore, as Dion observes, translate it *σεβαστός*.

† Tribunicia potestas.

AUGUSTUS,
 5.
 B. C. 27.

to forbid all measures that were displeasing to them, and to protect themselves from insult by putting to death, even without trial, any one whose language had occasioned them the smallest offence. As this tribunician power was renewed to them every twelvemonth, the years of their reign were computed by it. Their authority in a short time was acknowledged to be above all control, as they were declared to be superior to the laws, and to be bound by no written enactment. This despotic licence was not conceded to Augustus till a few years subsequent; but he had already received the title of Father of his country, which in the servile state of the Romans conferred little honour upon him, although it was the most glorious of all appellations when it was freely bestowed upon his betrayed friend Cicero.

Juv. Sat. viii.
 243.

In the exercise of his exorbitant power Augustus was not guided by his own judgment alone; but he professed a desire to receive suggestions from any other persons, and sometimes adopted their opinions. He appointed a certain number of the magistrates, and fifteen senators chosen by lot, to serve as a kind of council for six months. He sometimes referred business to the whole senate; but in most affairs of importance he thought it better to consult at leisure with a few advisers. The senate gave answers to the ambassadors of kings and nations, and preserved so much of their ancient rights, as would give sanction to the acts of the emperor, without infringing his authority.

CHAPTER II.

Pacuvius the Tribune devotes himself to Augustus.—The Emperor goes into Gaul.—Death of Cornelius Gallus.—Augustus goes into Spain.—Revolt of the Salassians, and the Cantabrians and Asturians.—They are subdued.—Embassy of the Indians and Scythians.—Agrippa dedicates the Pantheon.—Julia married to Marcellus.—Augustus exempted from obedience to the laws.—The Cantabrians and Asturians again revolt.—Expedition into Arabia Felix.—Illness of Augustus.—Death of Marcellus.—Augustus abdicates the consulship.—Distress at Rome.—Augustus refuses the dictatorship.—Conspiracy against Augustus.—Dedication of the temple of Jupiter Tonans.—The Cantabrians and Asturians again revolt.—Petronius defeats Queen Candace.—Augustus goes into Sicily.—Tumults at Rome.—Julia married to Agrippa.—Augustus goes into the East.—The Parthian standards restored.—Second embassy of the Indians.

THE night after the emperor received the title of Augustus, an occurrence happened, which to the superstitious minds of the Romans appeared a prodigy of* considerable importance. • The Tiber overflowed its banks, so that all the level parts of Rome were inundated; and this by an easy interpretation was supposed to predict the increasing power of Augustus. • While others were paying their extravagant flatteries to him, Sextus Pacuvius

AUGUSTUS,

5.

B. C. 27.

Dion. lili.

AUGUSTUS,
 5.
 B. C. 27.

the tribune of the people surpassed them all; for in imitation of a custom of the Spaniards, he engaged to devote himself to Augustus, and urged others to follow his example. When the emperor showed reluctance, he went among the people and constrained them to imitate his servility, and declare that they devoted themselves to Augustus: from which the custom originated for men in addressing the emperors to profess their devotion to them. Pacuvius caused a general sacrifice to be made, and avowed his intention of making Cæsar his heir on equal terms with his son, although he had nothing to bequeath. His object was to be recompensed for his base adulation, and in this he was not disappointed.

Augustus having established his power at Rome, set out with an intention of carrying his arms into Britain; but the Britons having resolved to send ambassadors to him, he discontinued his progress, and remained some time in Gaul. As the civil wars had broken out immediately after the subjugation of this latter country, its affairs were in a state of confusion, and Augustus employed himself in making a census of the inhabitants, and in regulating their manners and government.

AUGUSTUS,
 6.
 B. C. 26.

In the following year Agrippa dedicated the building in the Campus Martius called Septa, which had been erected by Lepidus, and surrounded with porticoes for the purpose of holding the comitia tributa. Agrippa adorned it with stone tablets and paintings, and gave it the name of Julian in honour of Augustus. By the practice of such self-denial he not only escaped the attacks of jealousy, but greatly exalted himself in the favour of the emperor and all the Romans. For though he advised and assisted Augustus in his most useful and

glorious undertakings, he never arrogated any praise to himself: nor did he employ the honours which were bestowed upon him for his own aggrandizement, but for the interest of Augustus and his fellow citizens. Cornelius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, pursued quite an opposite conduct: for being elated with his power he indulged in vain abuse against Augustus, erected his own statues over all Egypt, and inscribed his exploits upon the pyramids. Being accused by Ælius* Largus, his companion and friend, he was disgraced and forbidden to reside within the emperor's provinces. Various charges were brought against him by other persons, in consequence of which the senate decreed that he should be condemned to banishment, and his property confiscated to Augustus. He had not the fortitude to submit to his fate, but put himself to death. He is celebrated for his poetical abilities, and his unfortunate love is the subject of Virgil's tenth eclogue. The perfidy of Largus exposed him to some practical satires; for Proculeius having met him one day, held his hand before his nose and mouth, intimating that it was not safe even to breathe in his presence. Another person, who was a stranger to Largus, came to him with a certain number of witnesses and asked if he knew him; and when he replied in the negative, he made a note of his denial, as if to secure himself against his calumnies.

AUGUSTUS,
6.
B.C. 26.

Augustus had passed from Gaul into Spain, and had commenced both his eighth and ninth consulships at Tarragona. He had not come to any agreement with the Britons, but was still meditating an invasion of them, when he was diverted from his project by an insurrection of the Salas-

Suet. ii. 26.

Dion. liii.

* He is called Valerius by Dion in this place, but afterwards Ælius.

AUGUSTUS,
6.
B.C. 26.

sians, a people of Piedmont, and of the Cantabrians and Asturians in Spain. Terentius Varro being sent against the Salassians easily overcame them, by attacking them in various points at once, and preventing them from concentrating their forces. He ordered them to pay a certain sum of money, which was considered to be the whole of their punishment; but having dispersed his troops to collect it he seized all the inhabitants who were of military age, and sold them on condition that they should not be liberated for a period of twenty years. The best portion of their lands was given to the prætorian guards, and a city founded with the name of Augusta Prætoria.

AUGUSTUS,
7.
B.C. 25.

The emperor himself attacked the Asturians and Cantabrians, who neither surrendered, nor came to a general engagement on account of the inferiority of their forces; but they harassed him continually by occupying the heights, and laying ambushes in the thickets of the valleys. From fatigue and anxiety he fell ill, and retired to Tarragona, leaving the management of the war to Caius Antistius. This commander was more successful, because the barbarians being less afraid of him ventured upon a battle and were defeated. Many of their towns were taken, and Lancia, the greatest city of the Asturians, was found deserted. The war being finished, Augustus disbanded his veteran soldiers, and founded for them the city of Augusta Emerita* in Lusitaniæ. Triumphs, which he refused, were decreed for the success of his arms, and a trophy erected to him in the Alps, and permission given him to wear a crown and triumphal dress on the first day of every year. He also shut the temple of Janus, which had been opened in consequence of the wars.

* Merida.

In exchange for Numidia he gave King Juba some parts of Gætulia, and the kingdoms of Bocchus and Bogud which were comprehended in Mauritania. Upon the death of Amyntas king of Galatia, he did not bestow his dominions upon his children, but reduced them to a province, and subjected Galatia and Lycaonia to a Roman magistrate. The parts of Pamphylia, which had been given to Amyntas, were restored to their former government.

AUGUSTUS,
7.
B.C. 25.

Tac. Ann. iv. 5.
Dion. lili.

The fame of his virtue and moderation was so widely disseminated, that the Indians and Scythians were voluntarily induced to send ambassadors to solicit the friendship of himself and the Roman people.

Suet. ii. 21.

In the mean time Agrippa at Rome was adorning the city at his own expense. He built the portico of Neptune in commemoration of the naval victories which had been gained, and also finished the Pantheon. This celebrated building, according to the opinion of Dion, was not named from the number of the statues of the gods which it contained, but from the resemblance which it bore to the heavens in the construction of its dome. Agrippa wished to erect the statue of Augustus in it, and to ascribe the work to him; but when he declined these offers he placed the statue of Julius Cæsar in the temple, and his own and that of Augustus in the vestibule. He also superintended the marriage of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, with his nephew Marcellus, the emperor being still in Spain, and not yet recovered from his sickness.

Dion. lili.

In his tenth consulship the senate confirmed the acts of Augustus by oath. When it was announced that he was on his return to the city, and had promised a donative to the people, provided it

AUGUSTUS,
8.
B.C. 24.

AUGUSTUS, should be agreeable to the senate, it was declared that he was exempt from all obligation to obey the laws, and might act by his own unrestrained will. Upon his entering the city, other flattering decrees were passed,* and it was permitted Marcellus to take his place in the senate among the prætorians, and to be candidate for the consulship ten years before the ordinary time: Tiberius the step-son of the emperor was allowed to bear all the magistracies five years before the stated age: the former was immediately appointed curule ædile, the latter quæstor.

Tac. Ann. i. 3.
Dion. liii.

Dion. liii.

As soon as Augustus departed from Spain, the Cantabrians and Asturians revolted against L. Æmilius, who had been left there as commander. They sent messengers to him declaring their readiness to bestow corn and other necessities for the army; and when they had procured an escort of the Romans under pretence of conveying these presents, they led them into an ambush and massacred them. But their perfidious triumph did not continue long: for their lands being devastated and their cities burned, they were again brought into subjection.

Ælius Largus, the governor of Egypt, undertook an expedition into Arabia Felix, of which Sabos was then king. For a time there was no enemy to encounter the Romans: but the desolate nature of the country, the heat of the sun, and the unwholesomeness of the water, proved such formidable adversaries, that the greater part of the army died. A violent disorder attacked their heads, and killed many of them immediately: in those that were

To this occasion must be referred Horace's 14th Ode, Book iii.

Cæsar Hispana repetit Penates.

Victor ab ora.

more hardy, it made its progress through the whole body to the feet. There was no effectual remedy but to drink oil mixed with wine, and anoint themselves with the same; and this was a mode of cure to which very few could resort. In the midst of their sufferings they were attacked by the barbarians, who at first were defeated and lost some of their towns; but as the sickness of the Romans continued to aid them, they finally recovered their possessions, and drove the invaders from the country. They were the first of the Romans, and in the opinion of Dion the only ones, who ever carried hostilities so far into Arabia. Their progress extended to Athlula, a place of some eminence.

AUGUSTUS,
8.
B.C. 24.
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In his eleventh consulship, in which Calpurnius Piso was his colleague, Augustus was attacked with so severe an illness, that all hopes of his recovery were abandoned. Having prepared for his death, and convoked the magistrates, and chief men among the senators and knights, he forbore to appoint any one his successor, though it was generally expected that Marcellus would enjoy that distinction; but when he had conversed on public affairs, he gave Piso a written account of the forces and revenue of the empire, and presented his ring to Agrippa. He was, however, unexpectedly restored to health by Antonius Musa, who employed cold baths and cold drinks; and for this cure he was enriched by Augustus and the senate, allowed the use of a golden ring (though he was a freedman), and himself and all his profession were in future exempted from taxes.

AUGUSTUS,
9.
B.C. 23.

Upon his recovery, Augustus carried the will which he had made into the senate, and wished by the perusal of it to show that he had not presumed to appoint any one his successor; but none of the

AUGUSTUS,
 9.
 B.C. 23.

senators would allow him to read it. It excited, however, general surprise, that though he was attached and so nearly related to Marcellus, and had bestowed upon him so many marks of distinction, yet he had not declared him worthy of the sovereignty, but had given the preference to Agrippa. It appeared as if he did not place sufficient confidence in the inexperience of Marcellus; but either wished the people to regain their liberty, or to choose Agrippa as their prince, whom he could not venture to nominate by his sole authority. Jealousy was kindled in the breast of Marcellus; and that no disagreeable collision might arise, Agrippa was ordered by the emperor into Syria. He immediately left the city, but having sent his lieutenants into Syria he himself remained in Lesbos. His rival Marcellus soon after expired under the same physician and the same mode of treatment that had lately saved the emperor. He was deeply regretted, and highly honoured by the Roman people; though the most imperishable record of his fame is contained in the pathetic eulogy of Virgil. His death was imputed to Livia, the wife of Augustus, as she was supposed to be jealous of his exaltation above her own sons Tiberius and Drusus, whom she had borne to her first husband. The suspicion is less credible, as the year in which he died, and also the following one, were remarkably unhealthy.

Virg. *Æn.* vi.
 861.

Dion. liii.

Augustus appointed but ten prætors, which he considered to be sufficient, and this number continued for some years. He afterwards left the city, and abdicated the consulship which he had borne for several years successively, being now desirous that others should enjoy the dignity. The person he selected for his successor was L. Sestius, a zealous

partisan of Brutus, who had served with him in all his wars, and still cherished and eulogized his memory; but so far was his fidelity from being displeasing to Augustus, that he honoured and rewarded it. The senate, in consequence, decreed that Augustus should enjoy the tribunician power for his life; that though he was not consul, he should conduct whatever affairs he pleased in the senate; that he should always possess the proconsular authority without laying it aside in the city, and assuming it again; and that in the provinces his power should be superior to that of the respective governors.

AUGUSTUS,
9.
B.C. 23.
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In the following year, when M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Arruntius were consuls, the city was inundated by the Tiber, and there were storms of lightning, which, besides doing other injury, struck the statues in the Pantheon, and dashed the spear from the hand of Augustus. There was a pestilence in Italy which prevented the lands from being tilled, and the same evil probably extended to other countries. The superstitious Romans, imagining that they were afflicted with so many misfortunes because Augustus had ceased to be consul, were desirous that he should assume the dictatorship; and they compelled the senators to pass a decree to this effect, threatening to burn the chamber in which they had shut them, if they refused compliance. They then carried the twenty-four fasces to Augustus, beseeching him to suffer himself to be appointed dictator, and superintendent of provisions, as Pompey had formerly been. He undertook the latter office by constraint, and ordered two persons who had discharged the prætorship five years before, to be chosen every twelvemonth for the distribution of corn. The dictatorship he

AUGUSTUS,
10.
B.C. 22.

Dion. liv.

AUGUSTUS,
10.
B. C. 22.

absolutely refused, rending his garments to convince the people of his abhorrence of it; and doubtless, when he possessed a higher power than the dictatorial, it would have been imprudent to burden himself with an arbitrary title. Neither would he accept the censorship which was offered him for his life; but he bestowed the office on Paulus Æmilius Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus, who were the last private persons that ever held it together. He did not scruple, however, to exercise the censorial power in many instances: and as it was the custom for knights and illustrious women to dance in the theatres, he prohibited all who were descended from senators, or were of the equestrian rank, to disgrace themselves by such performances.* The sons of senators had been before interdicted.

Suet. ii. 56.
Dion. liv.

In the height of his power Augustus condescended to appear in behalf of his friends on their trials, and as a witness allowed himself to be interrogated with the greatest freedom. M. Primus, governor of Macedonia, having been accused of making war upon the Odrysæ, alleged that he had acted by the orders of the emperor; but Augustus, having voluntarily appeared in court, contradicted his assertion. Upon this Murena, the advocate of Primus, began to treat him with very little ceremony, and asked him what business he had there, and who sent for him: to which he merely replied, *The State.* By the wise he was commended for this moderation, and received an additional mark of public confidence by being allowed to assemble the senate whenever he pleased. His enemies,

* The opinions of the Romans respecting dancing must have greatly altered in a short time: for Cicero (pro L. Murena) says, *Nemo enim ferè saltat sobrius, nisi fortè insanit*,—(scarcely any sober person dances unless he is mad).

however, not only gave their votes for the acquittal of Prinfus, but resolved to overturn the power of Augustus. Fannius Cæpio was at the head of this conspiracy, and Murena, on account of his unbridled freedom of speech, was considered as one of the accomplices. They did not appear on the day of their trial, but were condemned by default, and soon after executed. Some of the judges having ventured to acquit them, Augustus ordered that if a criminal did not stand his trial, he should be returned guilty by the votes of all. At this time he surrendered Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis to the people, considering that they no longer required the protection of his arms. These provinces therefore were placed under the government of pro-consuls. He also dedicated the temple of Jupiter Tonans, which attracted so many worshippers from Jupiter Capitolineus, that this latter god upbraided the emperor in a dream with the infringement of his privileges. Augustus replied that he intended the Thundering god to be merely the door-keeper and guard of Capitolineus; and the next morning he confirmed the declaration which he had made in his dream, by suspending a bell at the temple of the new divinity. Such was the religion of the conquerors of the world.

AUGUSTUS,
10.
B. C. 22.

Suet. ii. 91.
Dion. liv.

The Asturians commenced fresh hostilities on account of the arrogance and cruelty of Carisius; and they were joined by the Cantabrians, who entertained a contempt for their governor C. Furnius, because he had lately arrived, and was supposed to be ignorant of their affairs. He soon proved their opinion to be unfounded, as he not only avenged his own cause, but carried assistance to Carisius, and subdued both nations. The greatest part of the Cantabrians perished; for when they

AUGUSTUS, ^{10.}
B.C. 22. had lost all hopes of liberty, some setting fire to their fortifications slew themselves; others ended their lives in the conflagration, or by poison. The Asturians having been repulsed from the siege of a certain town, and afterwards conquered in battle, offered no further resistance.

About the same time, the Ethiopians, under the conduct of Queen Candace, made incursions into Egypt as far as Elephantina, devastating all the country before them. When they heard that C. Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was advancing against them, they endeavoured to escape, but were overtaken in their march, defeated, and pursued into their own territory. Petronius continuing his successes, took several of their cities, and also Tanape, the residence of the queen, which he destroyed. As he could not march further on account of the heat and the sand, nor remain conveniently with all his troops, he retreated with the greater part of them, leaving the rest in garrison. Hearing that these were attacked by the Ethiopians, he returned and rescued them, compelling Candace to accede to a treaty.

AUGUSTUS, ^{11.}
B.C. 21. Augustus had gone into Sicily with the intention of arranging the affairs of this and all the provinces as far as Syria. During his absence Rome was agitated with tumults, on account of the election of consuls. In the beginning of the year M. Lollius held one of the consulships, the other being reserved for Augustus; but when he declined it, Q. Lepidus and L. Silanus canvassed for it, and by their factions involved the city in confusion. Augustus did not think it necessary to return to Rome; but having sent for the candidates, he dismissed them with reproofs, and ordered them to be absent at the time of election. The disturbances, however, con-

tinued, till at last Lepidus gained the contested honour. To prevent the recurrence of these tumults, Augustus resolved to bestow still higher dignity upon Agrippa, and entrust him with the government of the city. He therefore sent for him, and having compelled him to divorce his wife (who was the niece of Augustus) he ordered him to marry his daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus, and to go to Rome to celebrate his nuptials and assume his new office. Mæcenas is said to have advised this measure, declaring that the emperor had so elevated him, that he must either make him his son-in-law, or put him to death. The city was restored to tranquillity by the prudence of Agrippa.

AUGUSTUS,
11.
B.C. 21.
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Having regulated the affairs of Sicily, Augustus went into Greece, where he showed some marks of distinction to the Lacedæmonians, because his wife Livia had resided with them, when she fled from Italy with her husband and son. He deprived the Athenians of Ægina and Eretria, for having favoured the cause of Antony, and prohibited them to admit any one to the freedom of their city by purchase.

Having wintered in Samos, he passed in the ensuing spring into Asia, where, as in the other places, he established what regulations he pleased, without making any distinction between his own provinces and those of the people. He deprived the Cyzicenes of their liberty, for having scourged and killed some Roman citizens in a tumult; and when he arrived in Syria he inflicted the same punishment upon the Tyrians and Sidonians, on account of some seditions. Phraates the Parthian king, being apprehensive that an attack was meditated upon his dominions, endeavoured to avert it by sending to Augustus the Roman standards and

AUGUSTUS,
12.
B.C. 20.
Dion. liv.

AUGUSTUS
12.
B. C. 20.
Hor. Od. iv.
15. 7.
Ep. i. 18. 56.

captives that had been taken from Crassus and Antony. This present was received with the greatest joy, and was always extolled as one of the most glorious events of the emperor's reign. It was commemorated by sacrifices, and by the erection of a temple in the Capitol to Mars the Avenger, in which the standards were deposited. Augustus also (after his return to Rome) was honoured with an ovation, and with a triumphal arch.

Dion. liv.

In the government of the conquered provinces he abided by ancient institutions, while in his intercourse with the states that were in alliance with the Romans, he respected their rights, and strictly forbore from aggrandizing himself at their expense. He gave to Jamblichus his paternal dominions in Arabia; and to Tarcondimotus the territory which his father had possessed in Cilicia, with the exception of some of the maritime parts. These he bestowed upon Archelaus, together with the kingdom of Armenia Minor, which was vacant by the death of Medus. Mithridates, though only a boy, was put in possession of Commagene, the king of this country having murdered his father.

Dion. liv.
Tac. Ann. ii. 3.

The people of Armenia Major being dissatisfied with their king Artabazes,* and desiring to be ruled by his brother Tigranes, who was then at Rome, Tiberius was sent by Augustus to comply with their wishes and place Tigranes upon the throne. But before his arrival Artabazes was treacherously murdered by his relations, and nothing remained for Tiberius but to perform the empty ceremony of conducting Tigranes into the kingdom. He is said, however, to have been elevated by this easy success, especially when sacrifices were decreed in consequence of it.

* Called by Tacitus, Artaxias.

Augustus returned to Samos to spend the winter there,* and rewarded the inhabitants with their freedom in commemoration of his residence among them. He received embassies from many people, and a second one from the Indians, who made a treaty with him, and among other presents gave him some tigers, which Dion thinks were the first seen by the Romans, and even by the Greeks. They also gave him a youth without shoulders, but who is said to have used his feet with the same dexterity as others do their hands, drawing a bow with them, shooting arrows, and holding a trumpet. One of the Indians, from ostentation or false philosophy, burned himself alive at Athens in the presence of Augustus, after having been initiated in the mysteries.

AUGUSTUS,
12.
B. C. 20.
Dion. liv.

Augustus having been entrusted with the care of the roads around Rome, erected a golden pillar* in the forum for the computation of miles, and appointed persons of prætorian rank to take care of the public ways, allowing them the use of two lictors.

His daughter Julia was delivered of a son, who was called Caius, and it was decreed that a sacrifice should always be offered on his birth-day.

In the following year C. Sentius was elected to one of the consulships, and the other was preserved for Augustus; but when he refused it, seditions again broke out in the city, and murders were committed. The senate decreed a guard to Sentius, and when he was unwilling to use it, they sent delegates to Augustus, each with two lictors. The emperor, finding that his former forbearance had been ineffectual, appointed Q. Lucretius, one of the delegates, to the vacant consulship, while he him-

AUGUSTUS,
13.
B. C. 19.

**Milliarium aureum*. It was found in the year 1823.

AUGUSTUS, ^{13.}
B.C. 19. self hastened to Rome. He entered the city by night, and declined most of the honours that had been decreed to him; but allowed an altar to be erected to *Fortuna Redux*, and the day of his return to be enrolled among the holidays, under the name of *Augustalia*. On the next day the prætorian honours were voted to Tiberius, and his brother Drusus was permitted to be candidate for the magistracies five years before the usual time. The emperor, on account of the tranquillity which his presence had restored to the city, was appointed *Magister Morum* for five years, with the authority of censor for the same period, and the consular power as long as he lived: he was always to be preceded by twelve lictors, and to sit between the consuls in a curule chair. After these decrees were passed, the servile senate besought him to make such alterations, and to establish such laws as he pleased: to his laws they gave the title of *Augustan*, and proffered their oaths that they would abide by them. He accepted all that he considered necessary, but dispensed with their oaths, supposing that they would observe his decrees without this ceremony, if they sincerely approved them, but that otherwise, the strongest adjurations would not bind them. *

CHAPTER III.

Agrippa subdues the Cantabrians.—Death of Virgil.—Agrippa invested with the Tribunician power.—Augustus endeavours to reform the senate.—Makes regulations respecting Marriage.—Secular Games.—Caius and Lucius adopted by him.—Augustus leaves Rome.—War with the Sicambrians.—Rapacity of Licinius.—Drusus and Tiberius conquer the Rhætians.—Cruelty of Vedius Pollio.—People of the Maritime Alps subdued.—Disturbances in the Cimmerian Bosphorus.—Augustus returns to Rome, and fixes the time of military service.—Dedicates the theatre of Marcellus.—Compels the Senators to retain their dignity.—Becomes Supreme Pontiff on the death of Lepidus.—Freedom of Antistius Labeo.

As the presence of Agrippa was no longer necessary in the city, he was sent into Gaul, where the inhabitants were at variance one with another, and were also harassed by the Germans. Having composed their tumults, he went into Spain, to quell another insurrection of the Cantabrians. For these unconquerable foes, having killed the masters to whom they had been sold for captives, returned home, excited a fresh revolt, and seizing and fortifying some strong places, began to direct their attacks against the Roman garrisons. In his conflicts with them Agrippa had to encounter no small difficulty with his own troops; for many of them being old soldiers, wearied with incessant warfare, and daunted by the pertinacious valour of the Can-

AUGUSTUS,

13.

B. C. 19.

Dion. liv.

AUGUSTUS,
13.
B. C. 19.

tabrians, exhibited a refractory spirit against their commander. Having reduced them to obedience, partly by threats, partly by persuasion, he was still unsuccessful against the enemy, who had increased their skill by an intercourse with the Romans, and could entertain no further hope of their mercy. After he had lost many of his troops, and disgraced many on account of their defeats, he at length nearly destroyed all the Cantabrians who were of military age, disarmed the rest, and compelled them to descend from their fortified places into the plains. With his usual moderation he forbore to send any account of his exploits to the senate, or to accept the triumph decreed to him by order of Augustus. Others who had performed much less exploits, merely subduing robbers or suppressing tumults, obtained triumphs from the emperor, who at first was too easily induced to grant this honour, as well as that of public burial.

Virgil died, this year at Brundisium, being one of the brightest ornaments of the Augustan age, and the greatest epic poet of his country. He enjoyed the favour both of Mæcenâs and Augustus; and in the friendship of the three he doubtless conferred as much honour as he received.

Agrippa furnished the city with a considerable supply of water at his own expense, and with his customary courtesy gave it the name of Augustan. The emperor was not unmindful of this act; so that when murmurs arose in the city on account of a scarcity of wine, he observed that Agrippa had taken sufficient care that no one should die of thirst. He thought it expedient to aggrandize his son-in-law, in order more effectually to secure his own safety. For as he felt how much his life was exposed to attacks, in consequence of which he often

wore a breast-plate under his dress, even in going to the senate, he first procured the renewal of his own authority for five years; and then obtained the tribunician power for Agrippa for an equal period, with other privileges nearly the same as he enjoyed himself.

AUGUSTUS,
14.
B. C. 18.

After this he attempted to reform the senate, although that body had shown the most unbounded deference to his will. He wished to reduce them to the ancient number of three hundred, considering that it would be fortunate if he found even so many worthy of the dignity: but as by this arrangement more would have been expelled than retained in the senate, so great a clamour was excited that he was obliged to extend the number to six hundred. Even thus, however, it was impossible to satisfy the expectations of all. Licinius Regulus being indignant at his own exclusion, while his son and others, whom he thought inferior to himself, were admitted, rent his clothes in the senate, and giving an enumeration of his campaigns, stripped his body to show the wounds which he had received. Articuleius Petus having been elected, requested with filial humility that he might resign his place to his father, who had been less fortunate. Augustus, therefore, was induced to make a fresh scrutiny, and to give the place of some of the members to others who appeared more worthy. But as several of the ejected seemed to allege with truth that they had been treated unjustly, he allowed them the privilege of sitting among the senators at the feasts and games, of wearing the same dress, and offering themselves for the magistracies. Most of them were in time restored to their seats in the senate.

Augustus ordered that some persons, who were guilty of bribery in canvassing for the magistracies

AUGUSTUS,

14.

B. C. 18.

should be excluded from them for five years. He also inflicted heavier penalties upon unmarried men and women, and conferred privileges upon such as were married and had large families. And since the males of honourable extraction were much more numerous than the females (though such a fact appears remarkable after the ravages of the civil wars), he allowed all but the senators to marry freed-women, and their children to be reckoned legitimate. He endeavoured to check a fraudulent practice of the Romans, who entered into contracts of marriage with female infants and enjoyed their property, without afterwards solemnizing the nuptials. He ordered therefore that all contracts should be void, unless marriage followed in the space of two years, that is, unless the betrothed was ten years old; the marriageable age for girls being at the completion of their twelfth year, according to the Roman law. The senate urged him to make some laws to repress the licentiousness of the two sexes; but his own conduct in this respect was too flagrant for him to undertake the task, and he was obliged to evade as well as he could the sarcasms which were directed against him. The severity of many of his laws inflamed the ill will of the less virtuous portion of the citizens: but he recovered his popularity by bestowing gifts on meritorious persons in order to raise their fortunes to the income required from senators, and by allowing the prætors (if they pleased) to expend upon the games thrice as much money as they received from the treasury. The recal also of Pylades, a famous dancer, who had been driven from the city by some faction, was gratifying to the people. This man when he was re-proved by Augustus for quarrelling with Bathyllus, who exercised the same art as himself, and was a

relation of Mæcenas, is said to have replied: "It is to your interest, O Cæsar, that the attention of the public should be absorbed in our affairs."

AUGUSTUS,
14.
B. C. 18.

As the Sibylline books were beginning to be obliterated by age, Augustus ordered the priests to transcribe them with their own hands, in order that no one else might have an opportunity of perusing them.

In the following year, which was the 737th from the foundation of the city, the sæcular games were celebrated for the fifth time.

AUGUSTUS,
15.
B. C. 17.

Another son, who was called Lucius, was born to Agrippa and Julia, and Augustus immediately adopted him and his brother Caius as heirs to the empire, considering that they would be a protection to him against conspiracies. They were in consequence styled Cæsars.

He prohibited advocates to accept any fee for their pleadings; and those who were convicted of doing so, were to forfeit four times the sum which they had received. Judges also were not allowed by him to visit in the house of any one, during the year in which they held their office.

In the following year he went into Gaul, under pretence of composing the war which had been excited there. His long residence at Rome had become disagreeable to himself and others, as he was obliged either to be engaged in the offensive task of punishing those who transgressed his laws, or tacitly to submit to the infringement of his own enactments; he resolved therefore, like Solon, to indulge in a temporary absence from his country. Some however attributed his departure to Terentia, the wife of Mæcenas, who was so much the object of his attachment, that she ventured to contend with Livia for the palm of beauty. As their in-

AUGUSTUS,
16.
B. C. 16.

AUGUSTUS,
16.
B. C. 16.

trigues were the topic of conversation at Rome, it was alleged that they left the city in order to be less disturbed by the voice of public censure. Before he set out, he dedicated the temple of Quirinus, which had been rebuilt; and as he happened to adorn it with seventy-six pillars, which was the number of years that he lived, the credulous people believed that the circumstance resulted from design, as if he really knew the extent of his future life. He entrusted the government of the city and of Italy to Statilius Taurus, with the title of præfect of Rome; for Agrippa had been sent into Syria, and Mæcenâs had declined in favour on account of Terentia. But Taurus, though an aged man, filled the duties of the station with great renown. Tiberius, who was the prætor, accompanied Augustus, leaving his office to be borne by his brother Drusus.

Tac. Ann. vi.
11.
Dion. liv.

There were commotions at this time in many parts of the Roman empire, in Pannonia, Dalmatia, Thrace, and other places; but they were all soon appeased. The most formidable foes appeared to be the Sicambrians and other German tribes, who had crucified some Romans whom they had found in their territory. They then passed the Rhine, plundering the country before them; they laid a successful ambush for the Roman cavalry which was coming against them; and in pursuit of the fugitives they unexpectedly encountered Lollius, and defeated him also. Augustus, being informed of their successes, led an army against them; but when they heard that he was advancing, and Lollius was preparing his forces, they retreated into their own country, and having given hostages were admitted to terms of peace.

The warlike operations of Augustus being

arrested, he employed this and the following year in removing the disorders which had been introduced not only by the ravages of the Germans, but also by the rapacity of Licinius.* This man was a Gaul by birth, who having been captured by the Romans became the slave of Julius Cæsar, who gave him his freedom. Being appointed procurator of Gaul by Augustus, he overthrew all who were distinguished for eminence or power, and practised the most unbounded extortion upon the wretched inhabitants. As they had certain monthly contributions to pay, he alleged that there were fourteen months in the year, and that December was properly the tenth; he added therefore two others, and exacted a proportionate sum of money. Augustus was greatly mortified upon hearing these charges against his procurator: he affected an incredulity, and appeared desirous of concealing them, as he was ashamed of having employed so unprincipled a servant. When Licinius was afraid of the storm which was gathering against him, he led Augustus into his house, and having showed him an accumulation of silver and gold, and other treasures, he declared: "All these I have diligently collected for the sake of you and the Roman people, lest the Gauls relying upon their wealth should venture to revolt; and as they have been preserved for you, I now offer them for your acceptance." Augustus pretended to believe this flattering excuse, and spared the life of the culprit.

AUGUSTUS,
17.
B. C. 15.

Drusus and Tiberius in the mean time were engaged in subduing the Rhætians. This people, who lived between Noricum and Gaul, in the

Dion. liv.
Hor. Od. iv. 4.
17, &c.

* Dion gravely informs us that he considers these things to have been predicted by the appearance of a sea monster which came on shore, and was twenty feet broad, sixty long, and, excepting its head, resembled a woman.

AUGUSTUS,
17.
B. C. 15.

country which is now comprehended in Suabia and the Grisons, frequently over-ran the neighbouring lands of the Gauls, carried their ravages into Italy also, and ill-treated the Romans and their allies who travelled through their territory. These injuries they were in the habit of inflicting upon all who were not in alliance with them; and they murdered every male that they caught, even the unborn children, whose sex they pretended by certain divinations to discover. Drusus was first sent against them with an army, and having encountered them near the Tridentine Alps, he gained an easy victory over them, for which he was rewarded with prætorian honours. Though they were repulsed from Italy, they turned their arms against Gaul, so that Tiberius also was sent to take a part in the war. The two brothers and their lieutenants, entering the country at various points, created a dismay among the Rhætians, and easily overcame their detached troops. As, however, the inhabitants were numerous and turbulent, the greatest part of them were led away captives, only such a portion being left as were sufficient to inhabit the country without danger of kindling rebellion. The achievements of Drusus and Tiberius are celebrated by Horace.

Augustus sent many colonies into Gaul and Spain. He restored their freedom to the Cyzicenes; and bestowed money upon the Paphians, who had been afflicted by an earthquake, and allowed them by a decree of the senate to call their city Augusta. Such titles as this, when conferred by the senate, were at first considered marks of distinction; but in time they were assumed by various cities at their own option.

Dion. liv.

Vedius Pollio died this year, a freedman who had acquired an infamous notoriety by his wealth and

cruelty. He is said to have accustomed the fishes*, which he kept in his ponds, to feed on human flesh, and to have doomed the wretched slaves who offended him to be devoured as their prey. One day when he was entertaining Augustus, a slave had the misfortune to break a crystalline cup, when, without respect to his illustrious visitor, he ordered him to be thrown to the fishes. The boy fell at the feet of Augustus, beseeching him to save him from so unnatural a death. The emperor interceded, but in vain; till at length, provoked by the pertinacity of his host, he requested him to bring out all the precious cups which he had in his possession, and when they appeared, he ordered them to be broken. Pollio though deeply mortified was obliged to suppress his indignation, and could not punish his slave for an offence which was committed in so much higher a degree by the emperor. When this man died, he left Augustus a great part of his property, with an injunction that he should build some splendid work for the people. Under pretence of fulfilling this bequest, but with the real intention that no memorial of him should exist in the city, he pulled down his house, and erected a colonnade which he designated by the name of Livia and not of Pollio.

AUGUSTUS,
17.
B. C. 15.

In the following year the Pannonians having revolted were subdued. The Ligurians, who had hitherto inhabited the maritime Alps in a state of freedom, were reduced to slavery. Disturbances were excited in the Cimmerian Bosphorus by a pretender called Scribonius, who, having alleged that he was the grandson of Mithridates the Great, and that he had received the kingdom from Augustus, married Dynamis the wife of the late monarch, and got possession of her dominions.

AUGUSTUS,
18.
B. C. 14.

Dion. liv.

* *Μυρμαίνας*.

AUGUSTUS,
18.
B. C. 14.

Agrippa, hearing of his usurpation, sent Polemon king of Pontus to wage war against him. In the mean time the inhabitants of the Bosphorus had discovered the fraud of Scribonius, and had put him to death; but they offered opposition to Polemon, under the apprehension that he intended to make himself their sovereign. They were conquered by him in battle, but did not submit, till Agrippa had arrived at Sinope, with the view of attacking them. They then laid down their arms, and were surrendered to Polemon, who married Dynamis. For this success sacrifices were offered in the name of Agrippa, although he wrote no account of the affair to the senate, nor accepted the triumph which was decreed to him. His conduct was subsequently imitated by all private individuals, who were afraid of exciting the jealousy of the emperors, and were obliged to be satisfied with the inferior distinction, which was invented by Augustus, and called *triumphal honours**.

Suet. ii. 38.
iii. 9.

Having settled the affairs of Gaul, Germany, and Spain, according to his pleasure, Augustus returned to Rome, leaving Drusus in Germany. He declined the honours which the adulation of the senate offered him, and entered the city by night, a practice which he usually observed in order to prevent trouble. On the next day he received the salutations of the citizens in the Palatium, and ascending to the Capitol, took the laurel from his fasces, and placed it at the feet of Jupiter; he granted also some innocent luxuries† to the people. Having afterwards convened the senate, he ordered the quæstor (for he himself was hoarse) to read an

AUGUSTUS,
19.
B. C. 13.

* Triumphalia ornamenta, Suet. ; *ἐπινίκια τιμή*, Dion.

† These were the gratuitous use of baths, and the service of barbers for that day ; *τῷ δήμῳ προῖκα τὰ τε λουτρά καὶ τοὺς κουρέας τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην παρέσχε*. Dion.

account of his exploits, and the regulations which he had made respecting the length of military service, and the money which was to be paid to the discharged soldiers instead of the lands which they always demanded. The time fixed for the prætorian troops was twelve years; for the others sixteen: the former also received greater pay. These arrangements, which neither fully gratified nor completely disappointed the expectations of the military, were received by them with indifference; while they held out a hope to the peaceable citizen that he would not, as in the disorders of the civil wars, be again ejected from his estates.

AUGUSTUS,
19.
B. C. 13.

After this, Augustus dedicated the theatre of Marcellus, and among the amusements which were exhibited on the occasion, the game of *Troy*, which is beautifully described by Virgil, was performed by Caius and other noble youths. Six hundred wild beasts from Libya were slaughtered. The senatorial office had become so little an object of competition, that many persons, from poverty or other motives, voluntarily resigned it. Some decrees had been passed by the senate in the absence of Augustus to remedy this evil; and on his return he made a scrutiny of the whole body. He forbore to interfere with such as were above the age of thirty-five; but he compelled all the rest, if they had the proper income, and were not maimed, to preserve their dignity. He himself examined their persons, and obliged them to give an account of their property upon oath, and to explain the reasons of their difficulties. His authority, however, in the senate was not so absolute, that he was never doomed to hear offensive truths. One day Cornelius Sistentius, being accused on account of the conduct of his wife,

Virg. *Æn.* v.
545, &c.

AUGUSTUS,
 19.
 B. C. 13.
 { declared that he had married her with the knowledge and advice of Augustus. The emperor, greatly provoked by the charge, left the senate for a short time until his anger had subsided, thinking it better (as he afterwards explained to his friends) thus to offend against decorum, than to be guilty of more violent behaviour.

Suet. ii. 31.
 Dion. liv.

Lepidus the triumvir having died this year, Augustus assumed the office of supreme pontiff, and in this capacity burned two thousand volumes of Greek and Latin predictions. He made a selection of the Sibylline books, and deposited them in two golden cases under the statue of the Palatine Apollo. Although he had constantly refused to take the pontificate during the life of Lepidus; yet his conduct towards him in other respects was not correspondent to this generosity. He used to summon him from the country into the city, and expose him in the public assemblies to the scorn of the vulgar at his change of fortune, and oblige him to give his opinion last among the men of consular rank. He accused Antistius Labeo of perjury, and threatened to punish him for putting Lepidus in the list of those who were destined to be senators; but Labeo boldly asked what injury he had done by retaining in the senate a man whom Augustus himself allowed to continue pontiff. The same Labeo, when it was proposed that the senators should watch in turns for the protection of Augustus, said, "I am given to snoring, and should make but a bad watchman." Horace, in flattery perhaps to the emperor, calls him mad*; but his mad freedom was more honourable to him than the calculating servility of his fellow-citizens.

* Labeone insanior. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 82.

CHAPTER IV.

Agrippa dies, and is buried with great distinction by Augustus.—His character.—The Emperor chooses Tiberius as his coadjutor, who subdues the Pannonians.—The success of Drusus in Gaul and Germany.—Revolt of the Bessi.—The Augustalia instituted.—Julia married to Tiberius.—Revolt of the Dacians, Dalmatians, and Germans.—Drusus dies in Germany.—Tiberius carries on the war there.—Extinction of the Sicambrians.—Tiberius receives the title of Imperator.—The name of the month Sextilis changed.—Death of Mæcenas.—His character.—Death of Horace.—The arrogance of Caius and Lucius.—Tiberius invested with the tribunician power for five years.—Retires in disgust to Rhodes.—Aretas King of Arabia.

AGRIPPA, having returned from Syria, received the tribunician power for another five years, and was sent into Pannonia, (where a war was apprehended,) with greater authority than any other commander possessed out of Italy. The Pannonians, hearing of his approach, desisted from their hostile projects; and after his return he was attacked with illness in Campania. As soon as Augustus was apprized of it, he left the city, and having found him dead, conducted his body to Rome, placed it in the forum, and pronounced a funeral oration over it, extending a veil between himself and the corpse, for some superstitious reason, which, Dion says, he is unable to explain.

AUGUSTUS,
20.
B. C. 12. •

Dion. liv.

AUGUSTUS, After paying him these honours he buried him in
 20.
 B. C. 12. his own sepulchre.

Agrippa, without doubt, possessed eminent abilities, and he so exactly accommodated himself to the times in which he lived, that Augustus could not have desired a more unassuming subject. While he dedicated his wisdom and valour to the sole service of the emperor, he appeared studiously to renounce all the honour accruing from them; and when his virtue and forbearance procured him the highest favour from Augustus, he employed it in promoting the welfare of his countrymen. By this prudent conduct he escaped both the jealousy of the emperor, and the envy of the people: the one confided in him as the firmest support of his government, and the others revered him as the warmest advocate of their interests. At his death, he bequeathed gardens and baths for the gratuitous use of the people, and Augustus distributed to them a sum of money also, as if by desire of the deceased; for he inherited most of his property, and among the rest the Thracian Chersonese, though it is unknown how this country came into the possession of Agrippa. A son, who was born after his death, received the name of Agrippa Posthumus.

As it was necessary for Augustus to have some assistance in the administration of public affairs, and his grandchildren were yet in their boyhood, he resolved to employ Tiberius for this purpose, although the choice was not made without reluctance. He sent him against the Pannonians, who, having submitted for a time through fear of Agrippa, revolted after his death. By the assistance of a neighbouring people called the Scordisci, Tiberius devastated their lands with great fury; and after he had subdued the inhabitants he

stripped them of their arms, and sold most of their youth to be carried as captives into foreign countries: for these achievements the senate decreed him a triumph: Augustus, however, would not allow him to celebrate it, but gave him the triumphal honours instead.

AUGUSTUS,
20.
B. C. 12.

The Sicambrians and their allies considered the absence of Augustus as a favourable opportunity for exciting disturbances in Gaul. Drusus, however, frustrated their attempts by summoning the Gallic chiefs to the dedication of an altar, which was erected to Augustus at Lyons, and which was a detestable monument of impious adulation offered to a mortal prince. He then carried his arms beyond the Rhine, and devastated the territory of the Sicambrians. Descending the river he made an alliance with the Frisians, and encountered great danger in entering the country of the Chauci, as his vessels were left on dry ground by the reflux of the sea. He was rescued, however, by the Frisians, who accompanied him with some land forces; and as it was the winter season, he returned to Rome, where he was made city prætor.

AUGUSTUS,
21.
B. C. 11.

Renewing the war in the following spring, he passed the Rhine, and subdued the Usipetes. Having thrown a bridge over the river Lyppe, he marched through the country of the Sicambrians into the Cheruscan territory as far as the Weser: nor was his progress impeded by the Sicambrians, as all their forces were engaged in an expedition against the Catti, who had refused to enter into an alliance with them. Drusus would have passed the Weser, if he had not been deterred by the want of provisions, and the approach of winter.*

* Dion adds that a swarm of bees appeared in his camp; which was a dreadful portent to a brave commander.

AUGUSTUS,
^{21.}
 { B. C. 11.

On his return he experienced great danger from the ambushes of the enemy, and on one occasion his army was surrounded, and might have been entirely destroyed, if they had not attacked it in a precipitate and disorderly manner. After this escape he was less molested by the barbarians, and was enabled to build forts on the Lyppe and the Rhine. For these exploits he was rewarded with the triumphal honours and other distinctions.

Tiberius was engaged in hostilities with the Dalmatians and Pannonians. He subdued them both; and Dalmatia was afterwards transferred to the provinces of the emperor.

About the same time Vologeses, priest of Bacchus, having gained a party by the influence of superstition, excited a rebellion among the Bessi, a people of Thrace. He vanquished and killed Rhescuporis*, the son of the late king Cotys, and without any engagement expelled Rhoemetalcès the uncle and guardian of this prince, and pursued him into the Chersonese. The Sialetæ also committed devastations in Macedonia. L. Piso, who was governor of Pamphylia, was ordered to make war upon these insurgents. The Bessi, upon the intelligence of his approach, retreated into their own country, where at first they defeated him: he was afterwards more successful, and ravaged both their territory, and that of the neighbouring people who had joined in the revolt. Some of them voluntarily surrendered, and the rest were subdued partly by arms, partly by intimidation.

It had been customary every year for the prætors, without any specific order, to commemorate the birth-day of Augustus with games. But

* This prince's name and his uncle's are written in various ways. I have followed the orthography which I find in Tacitus. *Ann.* ii. 64.

this year the Augustalia were established by a decree of the senate.

Augustus,
22.
B. C. 10.

In the census which Augustus made, he registered his own property, as if he had been but a private individual. As he found that the attendance in the senate was not always sufficiently numerous, he ordered that decrees might be passed by less than four hundred senators, which was the number formerly necessary for their ratification. The money, which the senate and people contributed for the erection of statues to him, was applied by him not to this purpose, but to raising statues to Public Safety, Concord, and Peace. The presents which were made to him on the first day of the year were not given in a private manner; but each person brought to him as much as he thought fit, and Augustus returned it with the addition of an equal or even greater sum. It is related that on a certain day in every year, he used to hold out his hand like a beggar, and receive money from those who met him. This was done in compliance with one of his dreams, of which in general he was a scrupulous observer.

Suet. ii. 91.
Dion. liv.

As he seemed to consider it indispensable that his daughter Julia, who had survived two husbands, should again be married, he deliberated for some time on whom he should bestow her. He at last gave her to Tiberius, whom he compelled to separate from his wife Agrippina, who was the daughter of Agrippa, and had borne one son named Drusus, and was pregnant with a second child. Tiberius, though he must have seen how favourable the alliance was to his ambitious hopes, is said to have submitted to it with the greatest reluctance, both on account of his attachment to Agrippina, and his dislike of the character of Julia.

Suet. ii. 63.
iii. 7.
Dion. liv.

AUGUSTUS, 22.
B. C. 10. } Augustus buried this year his sister Octavia, the mother of Marcellus, and pronounced her funeral oration.

The custody of the decrees of the senate was given to the quæstors; as the tribunes of the people and ediles, who formerly possessed it, had negligently discharged the duty by means of subordinate officers. It was ordered that the temple of Janus should be shut; but the decree was frustrated by the Dacians, who having passed the Danube while it was frozen, carried off booty from Pannonia. The Dalmatians also revolted, on account of the exaction of tribute. Tiberius, who had gone into Gaul with Augustus, was sent against these enemies, and reduced them to submission. Drusus was ordered to quell some disturbances which had arisen among the Catti and the Sicambrians; and the two princes, after their successes, returned to Rome with Augustus.

AUGUSTUS, 23.
B. C. 9. } In the following year Drusus again invaded the Catti, and advanced as far as Suevia, though not without considerable difficulty and bloodshed. Having failed in his attempt to pass the Elbe,* he erected trophies and retreated; but before he reached the Rhine, he was taken ill, and expired. He was exceedingly popular with his countrymen, both on account of his warlike qualities and of his supposed intention to re-establish the ancient form of government, if he ever obtained the sovereignty. He is said to have written a letter to Tiberius on the subject of compelling Augustus to restore the republic, and that his brother perfidiously showed it to the emperor. These circumstances probably gave rise to the report,

Dion. lv.
Tac. Ann. i. 33.
Suet. iii. 50.
v. 1.

* Both Dion and Suetonius relate that he was accosted by a woman of more than earthly stature, who forbade him to make any further progress.

that Augustus, distrusting his designs, recalled him from Germany, and when he delayed his return, ordered him to be destroyed by poison. Suetonius totally disbelieved this charge against the emperor; and Tacitus says that he was never cruel enough to put any of his relations to death.

AUGUSTUS,
23.
B. C. 0.

Tac. Ann. i. 6..

When he heard of his illness, he sent his brother Tiberius to him, who found him still alive, and after his death conducted his body to Rome. Tiberius pronounced his eulogy in the forum, and Augustus in the Flaminian circus; the latter declaring that he hoped he himself might meet an equally honourable death, and that all the Cæsars might be like him. He had him buried in his own tomb in the Campus Martius, wrote his epitaph in verse, and composed memoirs of his life in prose. The senate decreed statues and a triumphal arch to him, and ordered that he and his children should bear the name of Germanicus. Statues were erected to Livia, in order to assuage her maternal grief, and she was enrolled among those who had been thrice-mothers. This singular distinction was conferred first by the senate, and afterwards by the emperors, on persons who had not really had three children; and it exempted them from the penalties inflicted upon the childless, and entitled them to nearly all the privileges of those who possessed a numerous offspring. Drusus had many children by his wife Antonia, but only three survived him, Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius, who was subsequently emperor.

Suet. v. 1.
Dion. lv.

Augustus experienced considerable difficulty in arranging the business of the senate, and in compelling the attendance of the members. He increased the fine for absence, and as the offenders

AUGUSTUS,
23.
B. C. 9.

were often protected by their multitude, he ordered that lots should be cast, and every fifth person be punished. It was his endeavour to make himself easy of access, and open to reproof. When he was requested to advocate the cause of one of his former companions in war, and on account of his occupations had ordered a friend to undertake the office in his stead; the man upbraided him by saying: "When you wanted my assistance, I did not send another in my place, but always hazarded my own life in your behalf." Augustus acknowledged the justice of the reproof, and going into court, performed the service which was required of him. He often allowed great freedom of speech from his enemies; but he did not forbear to punish those who were accused of plotting against him.

AUGUSTUS,
24.
B. C. 8.

When he returned to the city, from which he had absented himself on account of the death of Drusus, he carried a laurel branch to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He himself did not observe any festival, as he considered his late successes to be more than counter-balanced by the loss of Drusus; but the consuls conducted the exhibitions which were usual on occasions of victory. The magistrates having been accused of obtaining their dignities by bribery, he ordered that all candidates for office should deposit a certain sum of money before the election, and this was to be forfeited if they were guilty of corruption. As it was not legal to compel slaves by torture to give evidence against their master, he made a law that they should be sold, if it appeared necessary, to the commonwealth or to himself, in order that they might be subjected to examination. Some condemned this as an evasion of the ancient law: others deemed it necessary, on account of the

plots concerted by persons who relied upon the privilege of their slaves.

AUGUSTUS,
24.
B. C. 8.

Dion. lv.

As another ten years had expired, Augustus resumed his authority over the state, though not without some pretended reluctance. Tiberius was appointed to conduct the war in Germany, and when he had passed the Rhine, all the people except the Sicambrians* sent messengers to sue for peace. Augustus refused to grant it until the Sicambrians had joined the embassy: and even when they had offered this submission, they were not successful. Part of the Germans were compelled to retire beyond the Elbe; and the Suevi and Sicambrians, who surrendered themselves, were transported into Gaul. These amounted to forty thousand, and they were placed in lands allotted to them near the banks of the Rhine. The Sicambrians, however, who were both numerous and renowned, were so indignant at this transportation, that they resolved to destroy themselves rather than endure the disgrace; and accordingly Tacitus speaks of their nation as being entirely extinct.

Suet. ii. 21.
iii. 9.

Tac. Ann. xii.
39.

These successes were considered so important, that Augustus granted the title of *Imperator* to Tiberius, and assumed it himself for the fourteenth time. Tiberius was also honoured with a triumph; and it was ordered that the birth-day of the emperor should always be celebrated with equestrian games. The month which had hitherto been called *Septilis*, received the name, which it still retains, of *August*. This honour seemed rather due to September, being the month in which the emperor was born; but he

Dion. lv.

* In the Greek text of Dion, we read *Cantabrians*, which is obviously an error. Leunclavius conjectures that the people were the *Cattuari*, although he acknowledges that the *Sicambrians* are named in the manuscripts of Syllburgius. I have adopted the last reading upon the authority of the learned Tillemont.

AUGUSTUS, 24.
B.C. 8.
entertained a predilection for Sextilis, in which he was first elected consul, and in which he had gained many great victories.

Dion. iv.
Tac. Ann. vi.
11.

In this year he was deprived of the counsel and services of Mæcenas. This celebrated Roman had been the early friend of Augustus, and during the civil wars had been entrusted with the government of Rome and all Italy. Although he enjoyed the highest influence with the emperor, yet he never used it for his own aggrandizement, but, while he procured honours and offices for others, was satisfied himself with the rank of a knight. He is said to have had great command over the temper of Augustus, and always to have swayed it to gentleness and clemency. Once when the emperor was administering justice, and was about to condemn a great many persons to death, Mæcenas, who could not come near him on account of the crowd, wrote the following sharp reproof, and cast it into his bosom : *Arise, Executioner*. Augustus obeyed the injunction, and arose without putting any one to death ; and so far was he from being displeased with such freedom, that he rejoiced in having friends, who dared to correct that irascibility to which he was inclined, both by his natural temper and the urgency of business. Although Mæcenas had latterly experienced a coldness in the regard of Augustus, and had just reason to be offended on account of Terentia his wife, yet he left him heir to nearly all his property. He was the first who provided at Rome a warm swimming-bath, and this may be considered an instance of that luxury of which he has been accused. Seneca says, that he was a man of genius, and would have been a great example of Roman eloquence, if he had not been weakened, and even emasculated, by prosperity.

Tac. Ann. iii.
30.
Dion. iv.

Sen. Ep. 19.

Some attribute to him the invention of short-hand, though others ascribe it to Tiro, the freedman of Cicero. But his greatest distinction is, that he was the warm and generous patron of literature. Both Virgil and Horace enjoyed his friendship and partook of his bounty; and they have requited his favours by imparting to his name the imperishable lustre which surrounds their writings. The intercourse between Horace and Mæcenas, as it is described in the works of the former, furnishes a most engaging picture of the characters both of the poet and his patron. Horace had solemnly declared that he would never survive his friend; and as he really expired a short time after him in this year, it remains uncertain to what cause we should ascribe his death.

AUGUSTUS,
24.
B. C. 8.

Hor. Od. ii. 17.
8, &c.

Tiberius, who was consul with Cn. Piso, entered the city in triumph on the first of January. He soon after departed into Germany, where some commotions were excited; but nothing memorable occurred this year either at Rome or abroad.

AUGUSTUS,
25.
B. C. 7.
Dion. iv.

Augustus could not observe without considerable displeasure the behaviour of his grandsons Caius and Lucius, who, educated in the indulgences of prosperity, were unable to restrain the exuberance of a luxurious and arrogant spirit. Lucius having entered the theatre one day, was so elated with the applause which he received there, that he ventured to ask the consulship for his brother Caius, who was a mere youth. Augustus replied that he hoped the times would never come, in which there would be a necessity to give the consulship to one who had not yet reached his twentieth year. When they continued their solicitations, he observed that no one should undertake such an office, until he knew how to guard himself from

AUGUSTUS,
26.
B. C. 6.

AUGUSTUS,
26.
B. C. 6.

error, and to resist the passions of the people. He afterwards gave Caius a certain priesthood, with the privilege of entering the senate, and of viewing the games and feasting with the senators. In order, however, to repress the arrogance of him and his brother, he bestowed the tribunician power upon Tiberius for five years, and sent him to compose the disturbances, with which Armenia was agitated. But this measure only exasperated the differences in his family; for the young princes considered themselves treated with neglect, and Tiberius resolved to abandon public affairs, and to bury himself in retirement. The causes assigned for this determination are, that he feared the anger and jealousy of the young princes, and considered it prudent to yield to them, as Agrippa had done to Marcellus; or that he thought the Romans would be more sensible of his services after a temporary absence; or that he was weary of the society of his wife Julia, and was afraid either to divorce her, or to complain of her licentious conduct. Whatever his real motive was, he was so fixed in his resolution that neither the entreaties of his mother, nor the complaints of Augustus in the senate, could induce him to abandon it. Leaving his wife and son at Rome, he went to Ostia, and, after staying a little while on the coast of Campania, sailed to Rhodes, being attracted by the beauty and salubrity of that island. In this spot he resided for seven or eight years, in the condition of a private citizen, without any pomp or ostentation.

Dion. lv.
Suet. iii. 10,
11.

Jos. Ant. xvi.
9, 10.

Obodas, king of the Nabathæan Arabians, being dead, the government was assumed by Eneas, who changed his name to Aretas, which had become the established appellation of the kings of Arabia.

He sent a letter and costly presents to Augustus, who refused, however, to accept them, as he was displeased with Aretas for taking the kingdom without giving him due intimation. Afterwards, however, he admitted his ambassadors, and, having reproved him for his precipitation, confirmed him in his authority. About the same time also, he was angry with Herod, and threatened him by letter, that though he had formerly treated him as a friend, he would now treat him as a subject.

AUGUSTUS,
26.
B. C. 6.
}

CHAPTER V.

Caius receives the title of Prince of the Youth.—The Christian Era.—Death of Herod the Great, and the division of his territories.—Augustus becomes acquainted with the licentiousness of his daughter Julia, and banishes her to Pandataria.—Her marriage with Tiberius dissolved.—Disturbances in Armenia tranquillized by Caius.—Caius has an interview with the Parthian King.—Tiberius returns to Rome.—Death of Lucius and Caius.—Disgrace of Agrippa and Julia.—Tiberius adopted by Augustus.—Augustus refuses to be called Lord.—Pardons the conspiracy of Cinna.—Vonones appointed King of the Parthians.—A fund provided for the Roman troops.—Famine at Rome.—Nightly guards established.

AUGUSTUS, 27.
 Usher. CAIUS CÆSAR, who was in his fifteenth year, received a portion of those honours of which he was so ambitious, being denominated *Prince of the Youth*,* (a title not unknown in the days of the republic,) and was elected to hold the consulship after a period of five years. The mutilation of the history of Dion leaves a considerable chasm in the affairs of the Romans at this time. But the most important event in ecclesiastical history may probably be referred to this year; for it is the opinion of many learned men that Christ was born in the 3,999th year from the creation of the world, and

* Princeps juventutis.

the 749th from the building of Rome. Of all the branches of human knowledge none is surrounded with greater uncertainty than ancient chronology; as it was the fate of mankind to live many ages upon earth, before they were able to compute the length of the solar year, or to preserve any accurate memorial of their most important transactions. From the perplexity which obscures other events, the Christian era is not exempt; and as it is impossible now to remove it, we shall adopt that mode of computation which has become most familiar by long custom, and instead of placing the beginning of Christianity in the present year, shall assume it in our dates to be four years later.

AUGUSTUS,
27.

The death of Herod the Great, king of Judæa, occurred most probably in the year after the birth of that Saviour, whom he had ineffectually attempted to destroy. This sanguinary tyrant, being afflicted with a loathsome and incurable disorder, was tormented with the reflection, that his death would be received by his subjects with exultation rather than grief. He therefore summoned the chief men of the Jews to Jericho, and, having shut them up in the hippodrome, charged his sister Salome and her husband Alexis that all these persons should be slain as soon as he died, in order that every family in Judæa might be overwhelmed with grief. This barbarous injunction was fortunately disobeyed. By his last will he left the kingdom to Archelaus, appointing Antipas to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and bestowing Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas, upon Philip. This division of his dominions was after some deliberation confirmed by Augustus; but Archelaus, who received half of his father's kingdom, was allowed to take the name of ethnarch only, with a

AUGUSTUS,
28.

Jos. Ant. xvii.
6, 7, 8, 11.
Bell. Jud. i. 23.

AUGUSTUS,
28.



AUGUSTUS
30.
Usher.

promise that he should afterwards be exalted to the regal dignity, if he deserved it.

Lucius Cæsar having now attained his fifteenth year, was admitted to the same honours as his brother Caius enjoyed.

Dion. iv.

The number of the people who received gratuities of corn having become unlimited, Augustus restricted it to two hundred thousand, leaving even thus an immense number of claimants upon the bounty of the state. He also appointed two præfects of the prætorian guards, whose office in a short time became one of the most important in the empire. In some games which he exhibited, water was introduced into the Flaminian circus, and thirty-six crocodiles were slain.

Dion. iv.
Suet. ii. 65.
• iii. 11.

The licentiousness of his daughter Julia, who disgraced herself by open adultery, and even by nocturnal revels in the forum, was at length made known to Augustus, after it had been a subject of notoriety to every one else. He was so overwhelmed with shame, that for a long time he debarred* himself from all intercourse with men; but he gave publicity to his own dishonour by formally announcing it to the senate. One of his daughter's paramours, Julius Antonius, who had been instigated by the ambitious hope of obtaining the sovereignty, suffered death: others experienced the same fate, or were banished into various islands. Julia was sent to Pandataria, an island on the coast of Campania; and Scribonia, who had been long divorced from Augustus, followed her degraded daughter. She was denied the use of wine, and every luxury; and no free person nor slave was to approach her without the permission of the emperor. After five years she was removed to the continent and treated with greater indul-

gence; but nothing could induce her father to recall her from banishment; and when the people (perhaps from flattery) interceded for her, he prayed that they themselves might possess such daughters and wives. He did not disguise that her death would be more tolerable to him than such disgrace; for when he heard that Phœbe, her freedwoman and accomplice in guilt, had hanged herself, he declared that he would rather have been the father of Phœbe than of Julia. Whenever her name was mentioned he used to sigh, and apply to himself a line of Homer,* signifying that he wished he had never been a husband nor a father. He dissolved her marriage with Tiberius, who, though he was pleased with the intelligence, thought it incumbent upon him to write several letters to him, in which he endeavoured to appease his resentment against her. Though nothing could be more criminal than her conduct, nor more derogatory to her exalted station, yet we cannot but observe that the manner in which she was hastily bestowed upon three husbands, Marcellus, Agrippa, and Tiberius, was ill calculated to inspire her with notions of delicacy and honour.

AUGUSTUS,
30.

Armenia had been for some years in an unquiet state. Artavasdes, whom Augustus had appointed to the sovereignty of that country, had been expelled, nor had the Romans who supported him escaped without loss. The Armenians had elevated a certain Tigranes in his place, and they were readily assisted by the Parthians in their project of opposing the interference of the Romans. These disturbances occasioned considerable uneasiness to Augustus, who was too old to undertake the war himself, and was at a loss to find a leader

Tac. Ann. ii. 3.
Vell. Pat. ii.
100.
Zonar.
Usher.

* Αἴθ' ὀφελίς τ' ἄγονος τ' ἔμειναι, ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολείσθαι.—II. iii. 40.

AUGUSTUS,
30.
to whom he might safely confide it. Distrust of more experienced commanders obliged him to commit the management of the affairs of the East to C. Cæsar, although he was only in his nineteenth year. The dignity of his name alone seems to have terrified the barbarians; for the Parthians sued for peace, which was granted on condition that they left Armenia; and Tigranes finding himself deserted, besought Augustus to bestow upon him the crown, which was now vacant by the death of Artavasdes. He was commanded to go and meet Caius in Syria; and from the imperfect accounts which we possess, it seems most probable, that hostilities were for a time suspended.

AUGUSTUS,
32.
A. D. 1.
In the following year, (which was the first after the birth of Christ, according to the usual mode of computation,) Caius was invested with the consulship, and was carrying on warfare in the East, though nothing certain is known of his operations. He wished to penetrate into Arabia Felix, a country at that time almost unknown to the Romans, but he did not succeed.

AUGUSTUS,
33.
A. D. 2.
Vell. Pat. ii. 101.
He had an interview with the Parthian monarch on an island in the Euphrates, each of them being attended by an equal number of troops. Paternulus, who was present, declares it to have been a memorable sight to see the armies and the leaders of two great empires arrayed in opposite directions. Phraates was first entertained with a banquet on the western side of the river, and afterwards entertained Caius on the opposite bank. He informed the Roman prince of the perfidy of M. Lollius, who had been appointed by Augustus as a kind of guardian to him and director. Lollius died a few days after-

wards either accidentally or by his own hand; and the removal of this treacherous friend made Caius more willing to enter into a reconciliation with Tiberius, who was now weary of his retirement at Rhodes. Augustus was determined not to allow him to return, unless Caius gave his permission; this however being granted, he was suffered to come back to Rome on condition of not taking any part in the management of public affairs.

AUGUSTUS,
33.
A. D. 2.

Suet. iii. 13.

L. Cæsar, the grandson of the emperor, died at Marseilles on his way into Spain. His brother Caius was not destined to survive him long. Being sent to adjust the affairs of Armenia, he was successful in his arrangements, and appointed Ariobarzanes king; who, though he was a Mede by descent, was favourably received by the people on account of his admirable qualities both of body and mind. But Caius, having imprudently trusted himself in a certain confereyce, received a severe wound, which so impaired all his energies, that business became irksome to him, and he wished to end his days in an obscure corner of the globe, rather than return to Rome. Having consented however, though reluctantly, to attempt the journey into Italy, he died at Limyra in Lycia at the beginning of the following year. Thus, in the space of a few months, Augustus lost the only two princes, directly descended from him, who were fit to inherit his immense power. Their brother Agrippa Posthumus was adopted by him on the 27th of June; but on account of his ignorant and untractable disposition he was banished first to Surrentum, and afterwards to the island of Planasia, in which a decree of the senate doomed him to suffer perpetual exile.

AUGUSTUS,
34.
A. D. 3.

Tac. Ann. ii. 4.
Vell. Pat. ii.
102.

AUGUSTUS,
35.
A. D. 4.

Tac. Ann. i. 3.
Suet. ii. 64, 65.
Vell. Pat. ii.
103, 104.

AUGUSTUS, ^{35.} Julia, the granddaughter of the emperor, added a fresh pang to his domestic griefs. • She was married to L. Paulus, but disgraced herself with the infamous crimes of her mother Julia, for which she was sent to the island of Trimerum on the Apulian coast, where she lived in banishment for twenty years. Augustus is said to have been strictly attentive to the education of his daughter and two granddaughters, having inured them to spinning, and carefully excluded them from all intercourse with strangers. The celebrated Agrippina was the only one whose virtues added lustre to her eminent birth. The Julias and Agrippa were so odious to him, that he used to call them his three cancers.

Tac. Ann. iv.
71.

Suet. ii. 64.

Suet. iii. 15.

Vell. Pat. ii.
104.

Dion. iv.

His wife Livia was universally suspected of having accelerated the death of Caius and Lucius, and procured the banishment of Agrippa, in order to make way for her own son to obtain the sovereignty.. By her persuasion Augustus had adopted Tiberius on the same day that he adopted Agrippa: he also made him his colleague in the tribunician power, and took every opportunity of augmenting his dignity and influence. To give greater stability to the empire, he required that he in his turn should adopt his nephew Germanicus, although he had a son named Drusus. Shortly afterwards he sent him into Germany, where, according to Paterculus, a great war had broken out three years before, in which M. Vinicius earned the triumphal honours.

Augustus, whose sway as emperor had always been sufficiently mild, became still more distinguished for clemency as he advanced in years, and was exceedingly cautious of offending any of the senators, or of injuring his popularity. He resisted

with great warmth an attempt that was made to give him the title of Lord,* which modern courtesy has bestowed upon thousands, who possess but the most inconsiderable portion of his power. An actor having occasion to utter the following exclamation, "*O just and gracious Lord*,"† all the people in the theatre applied the words to Augustus; but he was so far from being gratified with the compliment, that he endeavoured to check them at the time by his gesture and countenance, and on the following day published an edict in reprehension of their conduct; nor would he ever allow the appellation to be given to him even by his children.

AUGUSTUS,
35.
A. D. 4.

Suet. ii. 53.

His pardon of Cn. Cornelius Cinna, who was the grandson of Pompey the Great, and had formed a conspiracy against his life, gave still greater lustre to the forbearance and magnanimity of his character. Grieved at the wretched necessity which his station imposed upon him, of being constantly assailed by the plots, and obliged to shed the blood, of the most illustrious citizens, he passed the night in disquietude, unable to devise any method of extricating himself from his painful perplexity. Livia perceiving his distress, at length asked him, "Will you receive the advice of a woman? Act like the physicians, who when their remedies do not succeed, try an opposite course. You have hitherto gained nothing by severity, but one conspiracy has followed another; try now what clemency will avail. Pardon Cinna, who, as his plot is discovered, cannot endanger your life, but may serve to aggrandize your fame." Pleased with Livia's suggestion Augustus sent for Cinna, and thus addressed him: "I formerly saved your

Dion. lv.
Senec. de
Clem. i. 9.

* Dominus.

† O Dominum æquum et bonum.

AUGUSTUS,
35.
A. D. 4.

life when I found you in the camp of my enemies, with whom the ties of kindred had leagued you. I also preserved your estate, and granted you honours in preference to others, whose parents had been my companions in war. After receiving such benefits you have conspired to kill me. But I again grant you your life. From this day let friendship be cemented between us, and let us strive which of us can show the more honourable spirit, I in sparing your life, or you in acknowledging the favour." After this free acquittal he elected him to the consulship, and Cinna requited his generosity by the most faithful attachment, and by leaving him sole heir to all his property. All other enemies were at the same time vanquished by the emperor's clemency, as no conspiracy was ever afterwards formed against him.

Usher.
Suet. iii. 16.
Tac. Ann. ii.
1, 2; xii. 11.
Jos. Ant. xviii.
2.

As it is recorded that the Parthians solicited a king from Augustus, and there was an embassy of that people at this time at Rome, it is supposed by chronologers that he appointed Vonones to be their monarch about the present period. Although Phraates had been able to repulse the attacks of the Roman armies, yet he offered such external submission to Augustus as to send part of his children as hostages to Rome. His object, however, seems to have been not so much to show any deference to the Romans, as to guard against the treachery of his subjects, and prevent them from inciting his children to rebellion. According to Josephus, he acted by the instigation of Thesmusa, an Italian concubine, who had by him a son named Phraataces, and who wished his other offspring to be removed out of the kingdom, in order to raise her own to the sovereignty. Phraataces, who was accused of incest with his mother, stained himself

with the blood of his father, for whose natural decease he was too impatient to wait. Disgusted by his atrocious crimes, the Parthians drove him from the country, and he died. They then bestowed the crown upon Orodes, who was known to be of a violent and cruel disposition, but who had the merit of being of the royal blood of the Arsacidæ. They soon, however, grew dissatisfied with him, and killed him, either at one of their festivals or in the chase. After this they sent ambassadors to Rome to solicit a new sovereign from among the children of Phraates, and the choice fell upon Vonones, who was the eldest. This election of a Parthian monarch at Rome was considered by Augustus as one of the most splendid events in his reign.

AUGUSTUS,
35.
A. D. 4.

The year in which Cinna, the pardoned conspirator, held the consulship with Valerius Messala, was remarkable for great earthquakes: the city was overflowed by the Tiber, and the miseries of the people were aggravated by famine. Agrippa assumed the *toga virilis*, but without obtaining any of those distinctions which had been granted to his brothers. Augustus increased the number, and added to the privileges, of the sacerdotal orders, and especially of the Vestal virgins. But the condition of these last appeared so unenviable to the Romans, that the most noble persons were unwilling that their daughters should submit to it, and a law was passed allowing the children of freedmen to be admitted to the office.

AUGUSTUS,
36.
A. D. 5.
Dion. lv.

As the soldiers were dissatisfied with the smallness of their pay, and none of them were willing to remain in the army after the stipulated time, it was enacted that the prætorian guards should receive five thousand denarii* after sixteen years' service;

Dion. lv.

The *denarius* is reckoned at about sevenpence three-farthings.

AUGUSTUS,
 36.
 A. D. 5.

Tac. Ann. iv. 5.

Dion. xlv. 1v.

Suet. ii. 49.

Tac. Ann. i. 24.

Tac. Ann. i. 78.
 Dion. lv.

AUGUSTUS,
 37.
 A. D. 6.

and the other troops three thousand after twenty years' service. Dion estimates the Roman legions at this time to have been about twenty-three or twenty-five, besides which there were ten thousand men for the emperor's guard, and six thousand for the protection of the city. The troops furnished by the allies were considered nearly equal to those of the Romans; but their numbers varied at different times. Among them the Batavians were distinguished for the excellence of their cavalry. Augustus had also a body of men called *Evocati*, who were veterans that had served their time under Julius Cæsar, but had been induced by the offer of great rewards to re-enter the army; and they continued to be kept up as a distinct and privileged corps. Among his guards he had preserved a body of Spaniards, from Calaguris, until the defeat of Antony; and some Germans, who performed the same office, were disbanded after the slaughter of Varus, but were afterwards enlisted again by him or his successor.

For the support of the army a tax of a hundredth part upon all vendibles had been imposed after the civil wars; but as the funds were inadequate, Augustus proposed to the senate to devise some permanent mode of furnishing pay and gratuities to the soldiers. In behalf of himself and Tiberius he deposited a sum of money in the military treasury, which was to be superintended by three persons of prætorian rank, to be chosen by lot for a term of three years, but who were afterwards appointed by the emperors. He engaged to pay the same sum every year, and accepted the promised assistance of some of the allied kings and people, but declined the offers of private persons, though they declared them to be quite voluntary. As these resources were by no

means sufficient, he ordered each senator to give him his opinion in writing, concerning the best mode of establishing a competent fund; and his motive was not so much to profit by their schemes, as to induce them to acquiesce in his own. For without regarding any of their suggestions, he decreed that a twentieth part of all inheritances and legacies should be paid into the military treasury, exceptions being made in favour of those who were very near relations of the deceased, or in a state of poverty.

AUGUSTUS,
37.
A. D. 6.

This tax was displeasing to the Romans, who were labouring under the pressure of a grievous famine. On account of the scarcity, gladiators, slaves, and all foreigners, excepting physicians and preceptors, were removed more than eighty miles from the city. Augustus and others sent away the greater part of their households, and senators were allowed to go where they pleased, those who remained having full power to pass all necessary decrees. Augustus is said to have had a desire of abolishing the public distributions of corn, which he considered encouraged idleness, and the neglect of agriculture; but he did not carry the plan into effect, because he was persuaded the practice would be renewed by some ambitious person, and he himself would sustain all the odium of its omission.

Dion. lv.
Suet. ii. 42.

As many parts of the city had been destroyed by fire, he appointed a body of freedmen in seven divisions, and under the command of a knight, for the prevention of such accidents. They were found so useful, that, contrary to his first intention, he continued their services; and in subsequent times, they were composed of other soldiers as well as freedmen, had forts in the city, and received pay from the state.

Dion. lv.

CHAPTER VI.

Archelaus banished into Gaul, and Judæa made a Roman province.—War in Dalmatia and Pannonia.—Law against celibacy.—The Dalmatians subdued.—Varus and his legions destroyed in Germany.—Banishment of Ovid.—Tiberius keeps the Germans in check.—Is associated with Augustus in the government of the empire.—Augustus permitted to transact all affairs by means of his council alone.

AUGUSTUS,
37.
A. D. 6.

Jos. Ant. xvii.
13; xviii. 1.
Bell. Jud. ii.
7, 8.
Dion. lv.

Gen. xlix. 10.

Dion. lv.

ARCHELAUS the ethnarch of Judæa, having been accused by the chief men among the Samaritans and Jews of exercising a tyrannical sway over them, was summoned to Rome, and, after being heard by Augustus, was banished to Vienne in Gaul, and his property was confiscated. Dion, who calls him Herod of Palestine, says that he was accused by his brothers. After his condemnation, Judæa was united to the province of Syria; it was governed, however, by its own procurator, and the first that bore the office was Coponius, a man of equestrian rank, who was invested with supreme authority over the Jews. Thus the sceptre had entirely departed from Judah, and it became all, who were attentive to their ancient prophecies, to watch for the appearance of the Messiah.

There were disturbances at this time in Sardinia, Isauria, and other parts of the Roman empire. The Gætulians, being dissatisfied with the sovereignty of king Juba, whom Augustus had set over them, excited a rebellion against him; but after they

had plundered the neighbouring country, and slain many of the Romans, they were subdued by Cornelius Cossus, who received the triumphal honours on account of his victory, together with the surname of Gætulicus. Tiberius carried on hostilities in Germany, where nothing memorable occurred; but the most formidable insurrections were excited in Dalmatia and Pannonia. Provoked at the pecuniary exactions which they suffered, the Dalmatians had paid a reluctant submission to their oppressors; but when they found that Tiberius was engaged with the Germans, and that Valerius Messalinus, the governor of their province, had departed with a great portion of the army, they determined to seize so favourable an opportunity for throwing off the Roman yoke. The leader of the insurgents was Bato; and though at first their numbers were small, yet after they had defeated the Romans who came against them, they were joined by the rest of their countrymen. The Breuci, a Pannonian people, placed themselves under the guidance of another chieftain, also called Bato, and advanced against Sirmium, which was occupied by a Roman garrison; but their progress was arrested by Cæcina Severus, the governor of Mœsia, who, having heard of their revolt, attacked them near the river Drave, and defeated them. The barbarians, who had slain many of the Romans, were not discouraged, but endeavoured to repair their losses by succours from their allies. In the mean time the Dalmatian Bato having led his army to Salona, was disabled by a wound from a stone; but he dispatched his troops, who ravaged the sea coast as far as Apollonia, and, though at first defeated by the Romans, were successful in a second encounter.

AUGUSTUS,
37.
A. D. 6.

AUGUSTUS,
37.
A. D. 6.

When Tiberius heard of these insurrections he marched from Germany, sending Messalinus before him, while he himself followed with the greater part of the army. Bato, though he was not recovered from his wound, advanced to meet Messalinus, and after defeating him in battle was overcome by an ambuscade. He then joined his arms to those of the Pannonian Bato, and the two chiefs took possession of Mount Almus, where they suffered a slight defeat from the Thracian king Rhoemetalces, whom Severus had sent against them. They repulsed, however, the attacks of Severus himself; and when he was obliged to return into Moesia, in order to defend that province, and Tiberius and Messalinus delayed at Siscia, they made incursions against the allies of the Romans, and induced many of them to join their standard. When Tiberius advanced against them, they forbore to come to an engagement, but continued their desultory mode of warfare, which was the most suitable to them on account of the lightness of their arms, and their knowledge of the country. On the approach of winter they extended their ravages, and having invaded Macedonia were encountered by Rhoemetalces, and his brother Rhescuporis: although the inhabitants in general retreated from their desolated fields, and fled to their fortified places, from which they made occasional descents.

AUGUSTUS,
38.
A. D. 7.

Augustus, imagining that the enemy might be subdued with much less difficulty, began to suspect Tiberius of purposely protracting the war; he therefore sent out Germanicus, who was then quæstor, with some troops, of which part were manumitted slaves. The Romans divided their forces, in order to overrun the country of the

enemy in various directions; but nothing important occurred, except that Germanicus defeated and inflicted considerable loss on the Mazæi, a people of Dalmatia.

AUGUSTUS,
38,
A. D. 7.

In the following year both the Dalmatians and Pannonians began to be desirous of peace, as they were afflicted with famine, and afterwards with sickness, arising from the strange roots and herbs which they were forced to eat: they were prevented, however, from sending ambassadors to the Romans by a party among them, who considered that they had lost all hope of obtaining mercy from the victors. But necessity at length prevailed, and Dalmatia returned under the Roman yoke, partly by force, partly by capitulation. The struggle is said to have been the severest one in which the Romans had been engaged since the Punic wars: fifteen legions, and an equal number of auxiliaries, were employed in it, and they had to encounter want of provisions, and every species of distress. When the Dalmatian Bato, in an interview which he had with Tiberius, was asked by him, what had urged him to undertake and to persist in such a revolt; "You yourselves," he replied, "were the cause, as ye send wolves, instead of dogs and shepherds, to take charge of your flocks."

AUGUSTUS,
39.
A. D. 8.

Suet. iii. 16.

Dion. lv.

The Pannonian Bato, it appears, had been guilty of treachery, and had been rewarded for his baseness with the sovereignty over the Breuci; but being attacked by the other Bato, and falling into the hands of that chief, he was condemned to death. Upon this many of the Pannonians engaged in a fresh rebellion, but were easily subdued by Silvanus, while Bato was compelled to retire into Dalmatia.

Augustus, who was doubtless beginning to feel

AUGUSTUS, ^{39.}
 A. D. 8. the infirmities of age, allowed the senate to trans-
 act the chief part of affairs without him, and
 abstained from appearing before the people. In
 the former year, on account of some tumult, he
 had himself nominated all the magistrates; but in
 this and the following years, he merely recommended
 by letter such candidates as he wished to be
 elected. He was so anxious respecting the pro-
 gress of the Dalmatian war, that he went to
 Ariminum, in order that he might be nearer the
 scene of action, and more ready to direct the
 operations. Vows were made in the city upon
 his departure; and when he returned, sacrifices
 were offered up as if he had arrived from a
 hostile country.

AUGUSTUS, ^{40.}
 A. D. 9. As the knights were anxious that the law against
 Dion. lvi. celibacy should be annulled, he assembled all the
 married and all the unmarried citizens in the
 forum, and was grieved to find that the latter were
 far more numerous. After separate harangues to
 the two classes, in which he commended the mar-
 ried, and warmly inveighed against the others,
 he increased the privileges of those who had chil-
 dren, and inflicted fines upon the unmarried, from
 which, however, they were to be exempt if they
 changed their condition within a twelvemonth.
 The law, which he passed, took its name from
 Pappius and Poppæus, who were consuls at this
 time, and were both of them unmarried men.

The war had again broken out in Dalmatia, and
 the Romans, under Germanicus, were unsuccessful
 in their attack upon the city of Rhætinum. The
 Dalmatians, unable to resist their numbers, retired
 into the citadel, having first set fire to the walls
 and the adjoining buildings, in such a way that
 the flames should not immediately burst forth.

The Romans, rushing into the city with the certain expectation of victory, did not discover the stratagem until they were surrounded with flames: if they advanced they were assailed with the darts of the enemy, and if they retreated they must pass through the midst of the fire. Most of them perished by one or other of these modes of destruction: a few escaped by casting the dead bodies of their companions into the flames, and using them as a kind of bridge to pass over. The fire was so powerful, that even the enemy could not remain in the citadel, but were obliged to leave it at night, and hide themselves in the subterranean buildings.

AUGUSTUS,
40.
A. D. 9.

Seretium and some other places were reduced; Dion. lvi. but when the war was protracted, and was the cause of a famine in Italy, Tiberius was again sent into Dalmatia. Finding the troops impatient for action, and fearing that they might kindle a sedition if they continued together, he divided them into three detachments, giving one to Silanus, and another to M. Lepidus, while himself and Germanicus marched with the third against Bato. Silanus and Lepidus conquered their antagonists without much difficulty; but Tiberius traversed nearly the whole country in pursuit of Bato, whom at last he besieged in the fortress of Anderium near Salona. This was a strong place, erected on a rock which was difficult of access, and surrounded with deep valleys and torrents: the Dalmatians had stored it with provisions, and were so successful in intercepting the supplies of Tiberius, that they placed him in the situation of a besieged rather than a besieging enemy. Perplexed in his counsels, but ashamed to retreat, the Roman general remained in a state of inactivity; until

AUGUSTUS,

40.

A. D. 9.

Bato, considering that it was impossible to maintain the siege, solicited for peace; and when his countrymen refused to capitulate, he deserted them. After his departure Tiberius, thinking the place might be captured without bloodshed, began the attack; but the enemy, part of whom had stationed themselves on the heights without the fortress, received him with a most furious assault of stones, and all kinds of missiles. The Romans were nearly overpowered by the difficulties of the ground, and the pertinacity of the foe; but at length, by the aid of fresh supplies, and by conducting another attack in a different quarter, they compelled the Dalmatians to throw down their arms, and flee over the mountains. Most of the fugitives were slaughtered without mercy in the woods, and those who held the fortress were obliged to surrender.

Germanicus was sent to subdue the Dalmatians who continued in arms, and who by the influence of a great number of deserters were prevented from accepting terms of peace. Although his troops were much more numerous, he was unable to capture Arduba, on account of the strength of its situation, until the deserters were overpowered in a violent contest with the inhabitants. The women, with an enthusiastic love of liberty, took part with the deserters, and when they found their efforts were fruitless, some threw their children into the fire, and others into the river. The neighbouring places having submitted, Germanicus returned to Tiberius, and Posthumius finished the conquest of the country. About the same time Bato, having sent his son to Tiberius, engaged to surrender himself and all his companions, if he could obtain impunity. Having received the

assurances which he required, he went to the camp of the Roman general, from whom he besought no favour for himself, even offering his head to be cut off, but made a long defence in behalf of his countrymen. When he was asked what had instigated him to rebellion, he made the same reply, as before, that the oppression of the Romans was the cause. In this way the Dalmatian war ended, after the victors had suffered a great loss in men, and still greater in money, as they had to support many troops, and gained very little plunder.

AUGUSTUS,
40.
A. D. 9.

The news of this conquest had scarcely reached Rome, when it was saddened with the dismal intelligence of the destruction of Quinctilius Varus and his legions in Germany. This commander, having enriched himself in the government of Syria, was transferred to that of Germany; but he seems to have formed a very false estimate of the character of the people, and to have been deficient both in vigour and discernment for governing a race of fierce and artful barbarians. The Germans, even while the changes introduced by their conquerors were slow and imperceptible, had not been able to forget their ancient liberty and prowess in arms; but when Varus was more rapid in his innovations, exacted money from them, and treated them as a subject nation, both the nobles and the people were anxious to liberate themselves from their servile condition. As there were many Roman troops on the Rhine and in Germany, they did not venture to excite an open rebellion; but by professions of obedience they allured Varus into the interior of the country, when their feigned submission lulled him into such security, that he began to think they might be governed without military terror. Instead

Vell. Pat. ii.
117.
Dion. lvi.

AUGUSTUS,
40.
A. D. 9.

therefore of keeping his troops concentrated, he dispersed them for such reasons as his enemies invented, either to protect towns, destroy robbers, or convoy provisions. Arminius, who was the son of Segimerus, a German chief, and was living in the closest intimacy with Varus, persuaded his countrymen that the Romans might be easily overpowered in their present state of security. The plot was disclosed to Varus by Segestes an eminent German; but the Roman commander disbelieved it, and reproved those who entertained any suspicions of the fidelity of the natives.

While he was in this state of infatuated confidence, some of the more distant Germans commenced an insurrection, according to the plan which had been concerted. Varus, as had been expected, prepared to march against them, and at his departure was assured by Arminius and the other chiefs that they would soon follow him with a body of auxiliaries. His army was embarrassed with much baggage, and with a large company of women and children, as if they were marching through the country of friends: but when they arrived at a place, where their way was obstructed with marshes and thick woods, they found that their treacherous allies intended to become their merciless assailants. They were suddenly attacked on all sides by the Germans, who at first shot at them from a distance, but soon came to a closer engagement, when they found that their enemies had no power to resist them. For the Romans, enclosed in a narrow space, obstructed by their own waggons and disorderly ranks, impeded by the trees and thickets, harassed by the wind and rain, and stumbling upon the wet and slippery ground, had little resource either in their military skill or

their natural courage. As the numbers of the barbarians increased, Varus and the most eminent of the Romans, having been wounded, turned their swords against their own bosoms, rather than fall into the hands of the victors. Many others followed their example, or allowed themselves to be massacred without resistance; nor could any have escaped death or capture, if the attention of the barbarians had not been too much engrossed by the booty. Three legions, distinguished for their bravery and experience in war, were destroyed by this treacherous attack, together with all the auxiliary forces. The head of Varus, after his body had been lacerated by the barbarians, was sent to Augustus, and honoured with burial.

AUGUSTUS,
40.
A. D. 9.

Suet. ii. 23.

The emperor heard of the slaughter of his troops with the deepest grief and consternation. He is said to have rent his clothes, to have allowed his hair and beard to grow for several months, and at times, beating his head against the doors, to have exclaimed "Varus, restore me my legions." The anniversary also of the calamity was observed by him with mourning. Apprehensive that the Germans and Gauls would make a descent into Italy, he commenced fresh levies of troops; and when the citizens appeared unwilling to enlist, he punished them with the loss of their property, and even with death. He removed all Gauls and Germans from the city, continued the governors in the command of their provinces in order to prevent the rebellion of the allies, and vowed great games to Jupiter in case the republic should be delivered from its imminent danger. Tiberius was sent in the following year to take the command of the troops in Germany.

Dion. lvi.
Suet. ii. 23.

Ovid, the celebrated poet, was banished this year

AUGUSTUS,
40.
A. D. 9.

AUGUSTUS,
41, 42.
A. D. 10, 11
Vell. Pat. ii.
120.
Dion. lvi.

for some unknown offence to Tomos in Scythia, where he continued till the end of his days.

The fear of an invasion from the Germans was groundless, as Tiberius not only kept the barbarians in check, but penetrating into their country burned their houses and devastated their lands, while they abstained from meeting him in a general engagement.

At Rome Augustus permitted sixteen prætors to be elected, because there were so many candidates for the office, and he was unwilling to reject any of them in the delicate posture of his affairs. In the following year, however, the number was reduced to twelve. He prohibited the provinces from giving any testimonies of approbation to their governors, either during the period of their office, or within sixty days after their departure, as the practice had been attended with crimes and abuses. The corruption of the ancient Roman spirit was indicated by the permission which was given to knights to fight publicly as gladiators. When it was found that mere disgrace was not sufficient to deter them from such exhibitions of their prowess, it was considered best to grant them the privilege which they so much desired, as they might esteem it less when it was allowed them, or might be discouraged by the prospect of encountering death in the arena. Their combats, however, were not discontinued, especially as they were viewed with great interest by the citizens of Rome.

AUGUSTUS,
43.
A. D. 12.
Vell. Pat. ii.
121.
Suet. iii. 20,
21.

Tiberius, having averted all danger from the attacks of the Germans and Gauls, returned to Rome to celebrate the triumph which was due to him on account of his victories in Pannonia and Dalmatia. He was admitted to still more substantial honours by a decree of the senate and the

people, which bestowed upon him the same authority as the emperor himself possessed, over all the provinces and armies. This power was granted him by the request of Augustus, whose associate in the empire he now became.

AUGUSTUS,
43.
A. D. 12.

Germanicus, who was consul, was recommended by the emperor to the senate, while the senate itself was recommended by him to Tiberius. Under pretence of being occupied with the German war, but more probably from the infirmities of age, he requested that the senators would abstain from offering their respects to him at home, and would excuse him from any longer feasting with them. He instituted a search after some libellous books which had been written, and ordered them to be burned, and some of the authors to be punished. As many of the exiles did not confine themselves to the places allotted to them, and others indulged in a luxurious mode of living, he ordered that no banished persons should reside on the continent, nor in an island which was not distant fifty miles from the continent, with the exception of Cos, Rhodes, Sardinia, and Lesbos; and he also made regulations with respect to the number of their slaves, and the amount of their property.

Augustus for the fifth time accepted the government of the state for a period of ten years, and again bestowed the tribunician power upon Tiberius. As he very rarely visited the senate, on account of his age, he requested that he might be allowed a council of twenty, to be chosen every year, although previously he possessed a council of fifteen chosen for six months. It was in consequence decreed, that whatever he should determine in conjunction with these councillors, with the consuls and consuls elect, with his children,

AUGUSTUS,
44.
A. D. 13.

Dion. lvi.

AUGUSTUS, ^{44.}
A. D. 13. and with others whom he might hereafter choose, should have the same force as if it had been enacted by the whole senate. This decree, though he virtually possessed the power before, allowed him to direct the most important affairs of the empire without leaving his chamber; and it is said that he sometimes transacted business while lying down. His successors appear to have had a similar council, who from their constant attendance upon the emperor were called *Comites*, or Companions of Cæsar.*

* Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*.

CHAPTER VII.

Augustus dies at Nola.—His burial.—He is deified.—His character as drawn by different writers.—The effect of his government upon the Romans.—His person, accomplishments, and style of living.

THE death of Augustus, which occurred this year, is said to have been predicted by various portents. One of these, which is recorded both by Suetonius and Dion, will serve to show upon what frivolous superstitions the Romans rested their knowledge of futurity. The statue of Augustus in the Capitol being struck with lightning, the letter C. was effaced from the beginning of the word Cæsar: upon which the soothsayers declared that he would be deified in the space of a hundred days, because the letter C. denoted a hundred, and the remainder of his name, *æsar*, signified a god in the Tuscan language. He left Rome with Tiberius, who was going into Illyricum, and whom he accompanied as far as Beneventum. He was present at the athletic games, which were exhibited in honour of him by the Neapolitans; before which he had visited the coasts of Campania and the neighbouring islands, indulging himself in all kinds of relaxation, and behaving with the greatest courtesy to his companions. His health in the meantime had begun to decline, and a flux of the bowels terminated his life at Nola on the 19th of August, the day of the year in which he had entered upon his first consulship. Before his decease, having several times enquired if there

AUGUSTUS,
A. D. 14.

Suet. ii. 97.
Dion. lvi.

Vell. Pat. ii.
123.
Suet. ii. 97, &c.
Dion. lvi.

Suet. ii. 99.
Dion. lvi.

AUGUSTUS,
A. D. 14.

was any public anxiety displayed concerning him, he sent for a mirror, and ordered his hair to be arranged, and the appearance of his fallen cheeks to be improved as much as possible. He boasted to his friends, that though he had found Rome built of bricks, he left it of marble: which Dion considers as an allusion not so much to the splendour of his edifices, as to the stability of his government. He also asked them if he had performed his part well in the farce of life, and then, in conformity with the practice of actors, besought their applause.* He expired at last in the embraces of Livia, bidding her farewell, and charging her to cherish the memory of their union. His death was of that easy and tranquil nature which he had always desired; for whenever he heard that any one had died quickly and without pain, he used to pray that such might be the fate of himself and his friends.†

He had lived seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days, and had possessed the supreme power (reckoning from the battle of Actium) 'forty-four years, with the deduction of thirteen days. Notwithstanding his advanced age, there was a rumour that Livia had shortened his life. For it was believed that a few months previous he had visited his grandson Agrippa in the island of Planasia, and had exhibited such marks of affection towards him, as created an expectation that he would restore him to his favour, and make him heir to the empire. To prevent a result so fatal to her ambition, Livia, it was alleged, poisoned some figs on a tree, from which Augustus used to pluck the fruit with his

Tac. Ann. i. 5.
Dion. lvi.

* This he did in the following Greek words—

Δότε κρότον,
Καὶ πάντες ἡμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε.

† Which he aptly described by the Greek word, εὐθανασία.

own hand, and these she contrived that he should eat; while she herself partook of the wholesome ones. His death was thus attributed by some persons to the machinations of his wife; and as every circumstance relating to it was magnified into importance, it was noticed that he died in the very house and chamber, in which his father Octavius had expired.

AUGUSTUS,
A. D. 14.

Tac. Ann. i. 9.

His body was escorted from Nola to Bovillæ by the chief men of the several places through which it passed; and at Bovillæ it was received by the equestrian order, and conducted into Rome at night. On the following day, the senate being convened, his will was brought in by the Vestal virgins, and read by Polybius one of his freedmen. Tiberius and Livia were the principal heirs, and the latter was adopted into the Julian family, and received the name of Augusta. His liberality was of the most ostentatious kind, as he bequeathed legacies to the chief men of the city, many of whom were at variance with him, to the entire people, to the prætorian cohorts, and the legionary troops of Roman citizens. He was implacable, however, towards his daughter and grand-daughter, the Julias, forbidding them even to be interred in his sepulchre. Besides his will, other sealed writings were brought into the senate and read by Drusus. The first related to his funeral: the second was a memorial of his own exploits, which he desired to be engraved on brazen tablets, and placed before his mausoleum: the third contained an account of the military forces, and the revenues of the empire; and in the last he had recorded his advice to Tiberius and the State, recommending among other things, that the empire should not be extended, for fear that it should become too large and unwieldy to be preserved.

Suet. ii. 100.
Dion. lvi.

Tac. Ann. i. 8.

AUGUSTUS,
A. D. 14.

Dion. lvi.
Suet. ii. 100.

Two panegyrics being pronounced over him, one by Tiberius, and the other by Drusus, his body was carried on the shoulders of senators into the Campus Martius, where the funeral pile was erected. The soldiers cast upon it all the rewards and distinctions which they had received from their deceased emperor; and when it was set on fire, an eagle was let loose from it, as if to carry his soul to heaven. Livia remained on the spot for five days, together with the principal knights, who were in an undress, and their feet naked: and after they had collected his ashes, they deposited them in the mausoleum which he himself had built in his sixth consulship, and the groves and walks around which he had then granted for the use of the people.

Dion. lvi.
Suet. ii. 59.

It was ordered that the Roman women should mourn for him an entire year, but the men only a few days. Before his death he had been in a great measure deified, as most of the provinces had raised temples and altars, and instituted games, in honour of him. After his decease he was formally enrolled among the Roman gods, divine honours were decreed him, and his wife Livia was appointed to be his priestess. She bestowed a sum of money upon Numerius Atticus for swearing that he saw Augustus ascend into heaven, which was an awkward imitation of the impious falsehood which Proculus had asserted respecting the first king of Rome. Temples were erected to the late emperor in various places, and even the house at Nola, in which he died, was turned into a consecrated edifice.

Dion. lvi.

Dion. lvi.

The character of Augustus, though of a questionable nature, has upon the whole been favourably described by the writers of antiquity. Dion declares that though few persons regretted him at

first, yet afterwards his death was universally lamented. For he was courteous and easy of access to all ranks of citizens, and granted pecuniary assistance to many: he showed great regard to his friends, and was pleased with them for delivering their sentiments with freedom. He softened and moderated his absolute sway in such a manner, that the Romans appeared to enjoy both liberty and tranquillity at the same time: they had the forms of democracy without anarchy and confusion, and the advantages of monarchical power without tyranny and oppression. Whatever crimes were committed by him during the period of the civil wars, his partisans thought should be ascribed to the necessity of the times, considering that his real character was to be estimated from the actions, over which he himself had an unrestricted controul. So amiable did his conduct soon appear, in comparison with that of his successor, that some persons suspected that he had chosen Tiberius for his heir, in order that the contrast in his own favour might be more conspicuous. It is certain, however, that he did not adopt Tiberius, until his direct descendants had been carried off by death, excepting Agrippa, who was considered unworthy to succeed him.

AUGUSTUS,
A. D. 14.

Tacitus relates that the Romans were divided in their opinions respecting his character. The vulgar expressed their admiration at the number of his consulships, the length of years in which he had held the tribunician power, the many times which he had gained the title of *Imperator*, and the various other honours which he had enjoyed. His more judicious partisans contended that his duty to Julius Cæsar and the necessities of the state had urged him into a civil war, which it was impossible

Tac. Ann. i. 9.

AUGUSTUS,
A. D. 14.

for him to conduct by virtuous expedients alone: that in punishing the assassins of his father, he had made many concessions to Antony, and many to Lepidus: that when the former of these chiefs had been ruined by his licentiousness, and the other had resigned himself to indolence, there was no remedy for the disorders of the state, except that it should submit to the sway of one man: that he had not, however, assumed the regal power, nor the dictatorship, but had been satisfied with the name of Prince: that the empire was bounded by the ocean, or by distant rivers: that the legions, the provinces, and the fleets were placed in a state of order and stability: that justice prevailed among the citizens, moderation among the allies: that the city itself was adorned with magnificence: that violent measures were seldom resorted to, and then merely for the sake of establishing greater tranquillity.

THEC. ANN. I. 10.

His adversaries, however, replied that his regard to Julius Cæsar, and the necessities of the state, were assumed as specious motives to disguise his real projects: that instigated by ambition he had corrupted the veterans, and bribed the legions: that he had extorted the consulship from the reluctant senate, and turned against the state the power which was entrusted to him for the punishment of Antony: that the proscription of the citizens, and the distribution of lands, were not commended even by those who took part in them: that though he preserved peace during the time he was emperor, yet it was saddened by the slaughters of Lollius and Varus, and by the deaths of many private persons: that there was no room for the worship of the gods, when he usurped the temples, and the service of the priests, for his own

adoration : that Livia was a severe mother to the state, and a still severer step-mother to the family of the Cæsars ; and that he had adopted Tiberius for no other motive, than because he was acquainted with his arrogance and cruelty.

AUGUSTUS,
A. D. 14.

Julian, in his *Banquet of the Cæsars*, describes Augustus as changing colour like a chameleon, being first pale, then red, afterwards black, and at the same moment with a countenance enlivened by Venus and the Graces. The reformation of character, which so remarkably distinguished the emperor from the triumvir, is ascribed by him to the efficacy of the stoical philosophy, in which he was instructed by Athenodorus. It is related that this bold preceptor, being one day aware that the emperor expected the visit of a Roman lady, put himself in a litter, and being carried into his chamber in her stead presented himself before him with a drawn sword, asking him if he was not afraid of being assassinated by such a stratagem as he had then practised? Augustus, far from being displeased, thanked him for so salutary and effectual a warning. Suetonius reports that he was addicted to unlawful amours, in which his friends alleged that he was actuated more by policy than love, being desirous of learning the secrets of his adversaries through their wives.

Jul. de Cæs.

Dion. lvi.

Suet. ii. 69.

It is the opinion of the learned author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, that Julian does too much honour to philosophy and to Augustus, in considering that his change of character was real, and in ascribing it to the power of philosophy. The entire outline, which Mr. Gibbon has furnished of the emperor's character, is drawn with extreme severity. "His tender respect" (he says) "for a free constitution, which

Chap. 3.

AUGUSTUS,
A. D. 14.

he had destroyed, can only be explained by an attentive consideration of the character of that subtle tyrant. A cool head, an unfeeling heart, and a cowardly disposition, prompted him, at the age of nineteen, to assume the mask of hypocrisy, which he never afterward laid aside. With the same hand, and probably with the same temper, he signed the proscription of Cicero, and the pardon of Cinna. His virtues, and even his vices, were artificial; and according to the various dictates of his interest, he was at first the enemy, and at last the father, of the Roman world. When he framed the artful system of the imperial authority, his moderation was inspired by his fears. He wished to deceive the people by an image of civil liberty, and the armies by an image of civil government."

That Augustus was a tyrant in overthrowing the constitution of his country, and a hypocrite in pretending a desire to be free from the burden of absolute power, will easily be conceded; but it is not so manifest that he deserves in other respects the odious character imputed to him, of being devoid of every genuine virtue, and actuated by the sole impulse of his selfish interests. The same moral justice, which obliges us to condemn the crimes to which he was instigated by the inexperience of youth, and the authority of his colleagues, obliges us more forcibly to commend the virtues, which were his own free and spontaneous acts, and which were practised by him during the whole period of his manhood and declining age. His great vice was ambition, which he endeavoured studiously to conceal by every art that he could devise; but having once acquired power, he was not guilty of the further

crime of exercising it in a cruel and arbitrary manner, but for more than forty years governed the world with extraordinary wisdom and moderation. The beginning and the end of his life were certainly of a very opposite texture; but if he is to bear the disgrace of his youthful crimes, which few in his situation would have had firmness to resist, he ought not to be deprived of the glory of his subsequent conduct, which still fewer would have been able to excel.

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The only advantage which the Romans appeared to gain from the change of their government, was a little temporary tranquillity. Although the empire was too great and disorderly to be directed either by a corrupt senate, or a factious populace; yet little accession was made to its happiness or dignity by being placed under the sway of an autocratical master. If the emperors had been restricted in their power, and forced to pay submission to the laws of the state, their sovereignty would have been the greatest benefit that the Romans could have desired. But as the limits of their authority were left vague and undetermined, they soon absorbed the whole power of the state, and became, according to their individual characters, either a blessing or a scourge to their people. The same arbitrary power, which was employed by Augustus in establishing the peace and stability of the empire, was abused by his successors for the gratification of their odious and tyrannical passions. The Romans in the meantime were no longer distinguished for any manly freedom of character, but resigning themselves to the most servile adulation, regarded nothing but the will and caprice of a despotical prince. The base flattery, which disgraced their

Tac. Ann. i. 4.

Tac. Hist. i. 1

Dion. liii.

AUGUSTUS, conduct, corrupted their writings also; while the
 {
 A. D. 14.
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 secresy, with which the emperors and their ministers conducted the public affairs, had an additional effect in suppressing or perverting the truth of history.

Suet. ii. 79.

In person, Augustus was exceedingly well formed, and remarkable for great elegance in all the stages of life. His countenance, whether he was silent or in conversation, was so tranquil and serene, that one of the chiefs of the Gauls declared that he was softened by it, and diverted from a project which he had formed of precipitating him down the Alps. His eyes were bright and clear, and he was not unwilling that they should be considered as possessing a certain divine lustre: he was pleased, therefore, if any one, on whom he looked intently, turned his countenance downwards, as if oppressed by the splendour of the sun. He was short in stature; but this disadvantage was concealed by the just proportion of his limbs, unless he was standing by the side of some taller person.

Suet. ii. 84.

Eloquence and the liberal arts were diligently cultivated by him from his earliest youth. His harangues, however, either to the senate, the people, or the soldiers, were always premeditated and prepared; although on sudden emergencies he was not deficient in extemporaneous speaking. That he might not confide too much in his memory, nor consume time in exercising it, he resolved always to read his sentiments; and his more important discourses with individuals, and even with Livia, were delivered from writing. His pronunciation was agreeable, and improved by attention to the arts of elocution: sometimes, when he was labouring under weakness, he addressed the people by means of a herald.

He was the author of various compositions in prose, some of which he used to recite in the assembly of his friends. He wrote a small collection of epigrams, and a poem in hexameter verse, the subject of which was *Sicily*. He attempted also a tragedy, under the title of *Ajax*, but was dissatisfied with the work, and abandoned it. His style was neat and familiar, as he considered it of the first importance to express his sentiments with perspicuity. He avoided therefore abstruse terms, and rather than not be easily intelligible, would make a redundant use of prepositions and conjunctions.

AUGUSTUS,
A. D. 14.

Suet. ii. 85, 86.

He had paid great attention to the study of the Greek language. He did not, however, attain the art of speaking readily, or composing in it; but if he had any occasion to use the tongue, he wrote his sentiments in Latin, and had them translated by some other person. In his perusal of the Roman or Greek authors, he used to search for precepts and examples, that conveyed some salutary instruction, and send a copy of them to his domestics, or to the commanders of armies and provinces, or to the magistrates of the city, as they appeared to stand in need of admonition. He even recited whole books to the senate, and often recommended them to the notice of the people by edict, in order to give greater authority to his own opinions. Persons of literary talents were fostered with every kind of encouragement; and he patiently listened to their recitations, not only of verses and histories, but of orations and dialogues. He was unwilling, however, that any thing should be composed respecting himself, except by men of eminent ability; nor is it to be wondered, that he, who had commanded the praises of Virgil

Suet. ii. 89.

AUGUSTUS, and Horace, should be dissatisfied with the panegyrics of inferior writers.
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Suet. ii. 71, &c. Augustus in his early days had been accused of too great a love for sumptuous furniture; but he afterwards corrected this fault, and observed great simplicity both in his houses and his style of living. He was often satisfied with a scanty portion of the plainest food, and was equally abstemious in the use of wine.

THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS.

CHAPTER I.

Parentage of Tiberius.—His profound dissimulation.—Orders Agrippa Posthumus to be murdered.—Pretends to decline the imperial power, but at length desists from his refusal.—Jealous of his mother.—Deprives the People of all right in the election of the Magistrates.—Sedition among the troops in Pannonia appeased by Drusus, in consequence of an eclipse of the moon.—The German legions revolt, and are with difficulty pacified by Germanicus.—Death of Julia, the daughter of Augustus.

TIBERIUS had scarcely reached Illyricum, when in consequence of the illness of Augustus, he received letters from his mother advising his instant return. It is uncertain whether, on his arrival at Nola, he found the emperor alive or not; for Livia had closely guarded the house and the roads with her emissaries, and had spread favourable reports of her husband's health, until at length her arrangements being completed, it was announced at the same time, that Augustus was dead, and Tiberius had succeeded him.

TIBERIUS,

1.
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Tac. Ann. i. 5.

The new sovereign of the Roman empire was descended from the patrician family of the Claudii, Suet. ii. 1. 4.
Tac. Ann. v. 1.

TIBERIUS,
^{1.}
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who were always remarkable for their proud and inflexible spirit, and for their hostility to the people. His father Tiberius Nero had been the quæstor of Julius Cæsar, and the commander of his fleet in the Alexandrine war; for his services in which he was rewarded with the pontificate and other honours. In the siege of Perusia he had attached himself to the side of Lucius Antony, and when the city was reduced by Octavius, he fled into Sicily, and afterwards into Greece. But upon the reconciliation of Sextus Pompey and the Triumvirs, he returned to Rome, where Octavius declared himself enamoured of the beauty of his wife Livia. Induced by the authority or the solicitations of so powerful a suitor, Nero resigned her to his possession; although it is not certain whether the transfer was made with her consent or not. She was at that time the mother of Tiberius, the future emperor, and pregnant with another son, who was afterwards called Drusus. Octavius consulted the pontiffs, not whether it was lawful to carry away another man's wife, but whether he might marry a woman in her state of pregnancy. When it was replied that he might, if it was certain who was the father of the child, he took Livia to his home, and upon the birth of Drusus, sent him to his proper father Nero. Upon the death of Nero, which happened soon afterwards, Octavius became the guardian of the two children: the younger of whom died (as we have related) in Germany, and the elder succeeded to the imperial dignity. The extraordinary marriage of Octavius and Livia was the subject of much raillery at Rome; and in allusion to the birth of Drusus, it became a proverbial saying, that to the lucky children were born in three months.

Dion. xlviii.

Tiberius, who was about fifty-six years of age when he became emperor, had gained considerable renown for his military achievements; but he had given many indications of a cruel disposition, and was known to inherit the pride and arrogance of the Claudian family. But the most remarkable part of his character was the profound hypocrisy and dissimulation with which he endeavoured to disguise all his actions and sentiments. It was his custom never to avow his real wishes and intentions, but to use the language which was most calculated to conceal them; so that if he desired a thing, he appeared to refuse it, and if he was averse, he appeared to wish for it. He pretended to be angry with those who had not offended him, and was courteous to those with whom he was really displeased. When he intended to punish a culprit, he affected compassion, but appeared provoked, when he had resolved to forgive him. He often received his greatest enemies with marks of affection, and treated his friends with coldness and reserve. In short, he had established it as one of his principles of action, that the mind of a ruler should be veiled in impenetrable darkness, as he considered great mischief was occasioned by the disclosure of his intentions. Nothing was more perplexing to the Romans than to know how to please so perverse a dissembler; for if they penetrated his real intentions he hated them for discovering his duplicity; and if they misunderstood him, he was angry at the frustration of his secret wishes. None, therefore, were safe against his capricious tyranny, except such as had both discernment enough to see his real designs, and art enough to conceal their knowledge.

TIBERIUS,
1.
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Tac. Ann. i. 4.
Dion. lvi.

TIBERIUS,
1.
A. D. 14.

Tac. Ann. i. 6.
Suet. iii. 22.

Before the death of Augustus was divulged, orders were given for the murder of Agrippa Posthumus, who, though without any arms to defend himself, was with difficulty dispatched by a resolute centurion. Tiberius endeavoured to represent that the crime was performed in obedience to the commands of Augustus; but it was with more probability imputed to the jealous fears of Livia and her son. When the centurion reported to Tiberius that he had fulfilled his orders, he replied that he had given no such orders, and that the man would be responsible to the senate for the action. The affair, however, was suppressed.

Tac. Ann. i. 7.

At Rome the consuls, the patricians, and knights, were all ready to receive Tiberius with abject submission, and careful to compose their looks and behaviour in such a way, as to appear neither too joyful at the decease of the late prince, nor too sad at the accession of the new one. The consuls first took the oath to Tiberius Cæsar, afterwards the senate, the soldiers, and the people; for he suffered all things to originate with the consuls, as if the ancient constitution existed, and he was not certain of being invested with the supreme power. The edict, by which he summoned the senate, he pretended to issue merely by the right of the tribunician power which he had formerly received; and he declared that he should assume none of the public functions, except the privilege of attending the body of Augustus. He gave the watchword, however, to the prætorian cohorts, as if he was emperor; he was everywhere escorted by guards; he sent letters to the armies, as if he had obtained the supreme power,

and did not affect any reserve except in addressing the senate. The chief cause of his hesitation was the fear of encountering a competitor in Germanicus, who had the command of many legions and auxiliary forces, and enjoyed the highest degree of popularity with the Romans. He deemed it also more honourable to appear to have been freely elected to the imperial power, than to have insinuated himself into it by the intrigues of Livia, and the tardy adoption of Augustus. It was afterwards discovered that he also wished to ascertain the sentiments and inclinations of the chief men at Rome; for their words and their looks were remembered by him with revengeful animosity.

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1.
A. D. 14.

After the burial and deification of the late emperor, Tiberius, being entreated to undertake the government, declared that no one but Augustus was equal to so heavy a charge; that having been admitted by him to a share of his labours, he had learned by experience how difficult and how perilous was the burden of supreme power; that in a state adorned with so many illustrious men, they should not bestow all the authority upon one person, as the public duties could be more easily discharged by several. The senators, who were afraid of appearing to understand his real wishes, had recourse to entreaties, lamentations, and tears; they raised their hands to the gods, and to the statue of Augustus, and threw themselves at the knees of Tiberius. At length, having declared that though he was unequal to the burden of the whole state, he would undertake whatever part was committed to him, Asinius Gallus, who was remarkable for his freedom of speech, asked him what part he would choose. Tiberius, disconcerted

Tac. Ann. i.
11.

Dion. lvii.

TIBERIUS,
^{1.}
 A. D. 14.

by so unexpected a question, replied after some pause, that it did not become him, who wished to be excused from the whole, to make a selection of any particular part. Gallus, who discovered from the looks of Tiberius that he had given offence, endeavoured to pacify him by saying that he had not asked the question with any view of dividing duties that were inseparable, but that it might be proved by the confession of Tiberius, that the body of the state was single and entire, and must be governed by a single mind. This and other soothing speeches did not procure him the pardon of Tiberius, who was jealous of him for having married Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, his own first wife, and was also afraid of his independent spirit. Gallus therefore at last fell a victim to the emperor's animosity.

Tac. Ann. i.
 13.

L. Arruntius gave offence in nearly the same manner as Gallus. He was a rich and distinguished man, and was viewed with suspicion by Tiberius, because when Augustus in his last moments discussed the characters of the probable competitors for the imperial dignity, he had said that Manius Lepidus was competent, but would despise it; that Asinius Gallus was desirous of it, but unequal to it; that L. Arruntius was not unworthy, and, if an opportunity offered, would endeavour to gain it. For L. Arruntius some authors substitute Cn. Piso. All of these, except Lepidus, were afterwards destroyed by the machinations of Tiberius. Q. Haterius and Mamercus Scaurus also provoked his suspicious mind by some harmless remarks; and he immediately inveighed against the former, but passed over the other in silence, as being more implacably offended with him. Weary at length of withstanding the importunity of the senators, and

his own secret wishes, he forbore to refuse the dignity that was offered him, though he would not acknowledge that he accepted it. TIBERIUS,
1.
A. D. 14.

The senate wished to show its base adulation towards Augusta also; some proposing that she should be called the parent, others the mother of her country, but most that it should be subjoined to the emperor's name, that he was the son of Julia. These suggestions were displeasing to Tiberius, who told them that moderation should be observed in paying honours to women; and he was so envious of any distinction being shown to her, as if it would detract from his own majesty, that he would not allow her the use of a lictor. Tac. Ann. i.
14.

He named twelve candidates for the prætorship, which was the number established by Augustus; and when the senate besought him to increase it, he bound himself by an oath not to do so. Dion. lvi. however says that there were often fifteen, sometimes sixteen prætors. The election of the magistrates was now formally transferred from the people to the senate: for though the will of the prince had been generally predominant, the tribes had sometimes exerted an independent authority. Tac. Ann. i.
15. The people were stripped of all their remaining rights by Tiberius, and scarcely complained of their loss: the senators were pleased with the transfer, as it saved them from the burden of mean solicitations and expensive donatives. Tiberius had the privilege of admitting such candidates as he pleased, but he recommended only four, who were unanimously elected: the others were determined by lot, or the appointment of the senate. They afterwards appeared with their relations before the people, and this was the only vestige that remained of the ancient comitia. In the nomination of consuls.

TIBERIUS,
 1.
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Tiberius was very arbitrary, appointing them for a year or shorter period, and afterwards curtailing or extending the time as he pleased.

Tac. i. 16, &c.

While his authority was tranquilly acknowledged at Rome, a violent sedition broke out among the troops in Pannonia. There were three legions stationed there under the command of Junius Blæsus, who, in consequence of the accession of a new emperor, had granted them some intermission of their usual duties. Considering that this was a favourable crisis for commotion, and for extorting such concessions as they desired, they began to indulge in wanton discord, and to inflame one another's minds with a recital of their grievances. The chief instigator of the sedition was Percennius, a common soldier, who descanted upon the length and severity of their service, the smallness of their pay, and the expediency of seeking redress, while the authority of the new emperor was yet wavering and unconfirmed. Incensed by his harangues, and by the opinion of their own hardships, the three legions brought their eagles and standards together, and began to fortify the position which they had chosen. Blæsus endeavoured by reproaches and entreaties to allay their mutinous spirit, and declared that they had better imbrue their hands in his blood, than rebel against their emperor. It was unseasonable (he said) to embarrass a new prince with extraordinary requests; but if they persisted in such a project, why did they not abstain from violence, and quietly send ambassadors with an avowal of their demands? Upon this, they declared that his son, who was a tribune, should undertake that office, and that he should claim for them a dismissal from service after sixteen years; that when this was granted, they would explain their other

demands. The younger Blæsus having departed upon this embassy, the soldiers appeared moderately tranquil; but their arrogance was increased by the victory which they had gained in compelling the son of their commander to become the delegate of their cause.

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^{1.}
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Some companies who had been detached to Tac. Ann. i. 20. Nauportum, hearing of the tumult which had arisen in the camp, began to plunder the neighbouring places, as well as Nauportum itself; they attacked the centurions, who attempted to restrain their violence, and compelled the præfect of the camp, who was obnoxious for the severity of his discipline, to carry an immense quantity of baggage in front of the line. As soon as they joined the legions, the sedition was renewed with increased violence, and the surrounding country became a scene of rapine. Blæsus having ordered some of the most guilty to be imprisoned, they were rescued by their companions, who at the same time liberated the deserters and other criminals. As the audacity of the soldiers increased, a man named Vibulenus pathetically deplored the fate of his brother, who, as he alleged, had been murdered by the gladiators of Blæsus, and his body concealed. Such fury was excited by this appeal, that the commander would have lost his life, if it had not been discovered that the whole account was an atrocious calumny, and that Vibulenus never had a brother. The tribunes and centurions had not only lost all authority over their soldiers, but were treated with violence, or compelled to find safety in concealment.

When this mutiny was reported to Tiberius, he sent his son Drusus with some select troops, and Ælius Sejanus, the prætorian præfect, who was to

TIBERIUS, ^{1.}
 A. D. 14. assist him with his counsel: no specific commands were given them, but they were to act as the emergency should require. Drusus, being received by the legions with tumultuous clamours and contumacious looks, read to them a letter from Tiberius, declaring that he felt a deep concern for the brave legions, with whom he had often served, and that as soon as his grief was assuaged, he would consult with the senate respecting their demands; that in the meanwhile he had sent his son, who would immediately grant whatever was allowable at the time; that the rest must be reserved for the senate, whom they should consider neither devoid of gratitude nor incapable of severity.

Tac. Ann. i.
 26, &c.
 Dion. lvii.

Clemens, a centurion whom the soldiers had selected for that office, claimed for them a discharge after sixteen years' service, a denarius for their daily pay, and an immediate dismissal of the veterans with the rewards which were due to them. When Drusus declared that such demands must be referred to the decision of the senate and emperor, their indignation was rekindled, they wounded some of his friends, and guarded him at night to prevent his escape. But a fortuitous occurrence allayed their fury, when no reason nor authority seemed able to quell it. An eclipse of the moon happening that night, the ignorant soldiers imagined that the appearance of the heavenly body was an emblem of their own situation, and that their plans would not be successful, unless the planet recovered its splendour. They began therefore to blow their horns and trumpets, and as the moon appeared brighter or darker, their hopes were raised or depressed; but when at length it was covered with clouds, and seemed buried in darkness, their minds yielded to superstitious terror, believing

that everlasting labour was portended to them, and that the gods were incensed at their crimes.

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1.
A. D. 14.

Drusus, taking advantage of their credulity, sent emissaries round their tents to engage them by various motives of hope and fear to return to their duty. The seditious soldiers began to relent; and on the following day, Drusus had sufficient authority to cause Vibulenus and Percennius to be put to death. The other chief insurgents were afterwards slain, without undergoing any trial; and some were delivered up by the soldiers themselves, who continued to think that they were the objects of divine indignation, on account of the heavy rains and tempests which distressed them. Drusus, considering that the sedition was sufficiently appeased, returned to Rome.

About the same time, and for the same reasons, the legions that were stationed on the banks of the Rhine, near Cologne*, were induced to rebel. This commotion was still more formidable than the other, as the troops were more numerous, were inspired with a lofty opinion of their own strength, and acted together with a steady unanimity. They also hoped that Germanicus their commander, who was beloved for his popular manners, would concur in their projects, and allow them to raise him to the supreme power. But he was not to be overcome by so alluring a scheme. Being in Gaul when he heard of the death of Augustus, he compelled the people to swear allegiance to Tiberius; and as soon as he was apprized of the revolt of his legions, he hastened to suppress it. On his arrival in the camp he was unable to appease the fury of the soldiers, who replied to all his arguments by showing their scars, and

Tac. Ann. i.
31, &c.

* The country was called by the Romans *Germania Inferior*.

TIBERIUS,

1.
A.D. 14.

recounting their hardships. When they declared their readiness to proclaim him emperor, he rushed from the tribunal as if he had been contaminated by the proposal, while they violently resisted his departure. Protesting that he would rather die than be guilty of perfidy, he drew his sword from his side, and would have plunged it into his bosom, if he had not been prevented by those who were near him: some exhorted him to strike, and a brutal soldier offered him a drawn sword, remarking it was sharper than his own. Being rescued by his friends, and conducted to his tent, he felt that it was necessary to adopt some expedient in order to avert the miseries of a civil war, and the danger of an attack from the barbarians, who were acquainted with the mutiny. He ventured therefore to compose letters in the name of Tiberius, granting a discharge to such soldiers as had served twenty years, exempting those who had served sixteen from all duties but fighting, and doubling the legacy which had been left them by Augustus. With these conditions they were satisfied, although in order to fulfil them he was obliged to employ his own private money, and that of his friends.

He afterwards visited the troops in the upper province*, whom he found in a state of subordination; but on his return to the mutinous legions, he was doomed to experience a second ebullition of their fury. For some ambassadors having arrived from the senate, the soldiers, who were aware of the artifice to which he had resorted, and whose guilty minds naturally inspired them with suspicious fears, imagined that the object of this embassy was to recall those concessions, which they had extorted by their seditious violence. Under

* Germania Superior.

this persuasion they dragged Germanicus from his bed at night, heaped insults upon the ambassadors, and nearly killed Plancus, who was the chief of them. On the next morning Germanicus, having explained to them that they were in error respecting the design of the embassy, upbraided them severely for their ungovernable rage; and as they seemed to have lost all subordination, he was persuaded by his friends to provide for the safety of his wife and son by sending them to Treves. Agrippina, though in a state of pregnancy, was unwilling to go, declaring that she was the granddaughter of Augustus, and not to be intimidated by the prospect of danger. But when at length, in compliance with the earnest entreaties of her husband, she prepared for her departure, the fierce and seditious soldiers were touched by the spectacle. The remembrance of her noble ancestors, the consideration of her eminent virtues, the sight of her son who had been born in the camp; and whom they familiarly called Caligula because he wore the same covering for the legs as themselves, but above all their jealousy and aversion to the people of Treves, inspired them with such contrition, that they besought her to change her determination, and remain with them. Germanicus, after lamenting the atrocity of their conduct, suffered his son to remain, but declared that the condition of Agrippina obliged her to depart. The soldiers, in revenge for their late disorders, seized such of their companions as had been most active in the tumult, and delivered them to the lieutenant of the first legion, who punished them in a summary manner. The troops being assembled with drawn swords, each culprit was brought before them, and if they pronounced him guilty, they slew him with

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1.
A. D. 14.

TIBERIUS,

I.

A. D. 14.

Tac. Ann. i.
45, &c.

savage exultation, as if his death would be an atonement for their own offences.

The fifth and twenty-first legions, who had been the primary authors of the sedition, and had gone into quarters at Vetera, still displayed a rebellious spirit. Germanicus therefore sent notice to their lieutenant Cæcina, that he was coming with a powerful force, and would put them all to the sword, unless they anticipated him by taking vengeance on the guilty. Cæcina communicated the letter to those in whom he could most confide, and advised them to rescue themselves from a punishment, that would overwhelm the innocent as well as the criminal. Having discovered by their intervention that the greater part of the army was in a state of obedience, he concerted a plan for destroying the chief instigators of sedition. A signal being given, a sudden attack was made upon them, and they were deliberately massacred by their comrades, with whom they had just before been eating and sleeping in the same tents. Germanicus, on his arrival, ordered their bodies to be burned, lamenting with many tears the dreadful carnage that had been committed. The fierce soldiers were seized with a desire of marching against the enemy, thinking that they could not appease the shades of their companions except by shedding their own blood. Germanicus complied with their ardour, and led them into the country of the Marsi, whom he attacked on the night of one of their festivals, and slaughtered almost without resistance. On his return he was opposed by the 'Bructeri, Tubantes, and Usipetes; but reminding his troops that then was the time for obliterating the memory of their sedition, he easily broke through the enemy. The legions elated

with their recent success, and forgetful of their past disobedience, were placed in winter quarters.

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1.
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Tiberius received the account of the proceedings of Germanicus with a mixture of satisfaction and envy; he was pleased at the termination of so dangerous a sedition, but was mortified that Germanicus had increased his military renown, and had gained the favour of the soldiers by the concessions which he had made. He did not, however, forbear to extol his conduct in the senate, though in terms too elaborate to be considered sincere. He commended Drusus in more moderate language, but granted to the Pannonian army the favours which Germanicus had been induced to concede to his legions.

Julia, the repudiated wife of Tiberius, expired this year in her banishment at Rhegium. He had ordered her to be treated with extreme rigour, not suffering her to move from her house, nor enjoy any society; and he even deprived her of that allowance which her father Augustus had granted for her support, alleging that it was not provided for in his will. She consequently died of want, a striking spectacle of misery and degradation, to which her own licentious passions had reduced her. About the same time Sempronius Gracchus, one of her paramours, was executed by order of Tiberius. He had been exiled during the last fourteen years in Cercina, an island in the African sea, and when he learned that he was doomed to death, he met his fate with a fortitude not unworthy of the noble family from which he was descended. He was a man of considerable talents and eloquence, but made so perverse a use of these advantages, that they contributed only to the misery of others, and his own destruction.

Tac. Ann. i.
53.
Suet. iii. 50.

CHAPTER II.

Germanicus carries on war against the Catti, and the Cherusci.—Inters the remains of the legions of Varus—Actions for treason and libel.—Disturbances at the Theatre.—Vonones is driven from the Kingdom of Parthia, and afterwards from that of Armenia.—Germanicus gains signal victories over the Cherusci, but on his return loses great part of his fleet by shipwreck.—Accusation and death of Drusus Libo.—Astrologers expelled from Italy.—The bold spirit of L. Piso.—Clemens, the slave of Agrippa Posthumus, counterfeits his master.—Triumph of Germanicus.—Death of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia.—Germanicus is sent into the East, and Cn. Piso is made governor of Syria.—Drusus sent into Illyria.—Dissensions between the Suevi and the Cherusci.—Tumults excited in Africa by Tacfarinas.—Twelve cities of Asia destroyed by an earthquake.—Germanicus crowns Zeno King of Armenia.—Vonones is removed to Pompeiopolis.

TIBERIUS,

1, 2.

A. D. 15.

Tac. Ann. i.
55, &c.

IN the spring of the following year Germanicus resolved to attack the Catti, thinking that the discord between Arminius and Segestes would be favourable to his arms. The former was the chief who had deceived Varus, and destroyed his legions; while Segestes had often, though ineffectually, reminded the Roman commander of the treachery that was being concerted. He also now endeavoured to restrain his countrymen from

war; but his son-in-law Arminius (for he had forcibly carried away his daughter and married her) possessed greater authority over their martial spirits. Germanicus came so unexpectedly upon the Catti, that he easily routed all the troops that could be collected against him, and compelled them to disperse into the woods. Having burnt Mattium, and ravaged the open country, he was returning to the Rhine, when messengers came from Segestes beseeching succour against his countrymen, who had placed him in a state of siege. Germanicus marched to his relief and rescued him with a great number of his relations and dependents. Among other noble women, the wife of Arminius and daughter of Segestes was captured. She seemed to be animated with the spirit of her husband more than of her father, and, though in a state of pregnancy, did not indulge in tears and fruitless lamentations, but submitted to her fate with silent fortitude. Some of the spoils that had been taken from the army of Varus were also among the fruits of the victory. Germanicus, having promised protection to Segestes and his children, led back his army, and received the title of *Imperator* with the sanction of Tiberius.

TIBERIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 15.

Arminius, incensed by the loss of his wife, persuaded the Cherusci and the neighbouring people to espouse his cause. Germanicus, in order to distract the attention of the enemy, sent part of his forces by land, part by water, to the Ems, and devastated all the country lying between that river and the Lippe. As he was not far from the Teutoburgian forest, in which the legions of Varus had been slaughtered, he determined to pay the rites of sepulture (on which the ancients set so

TIBERIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 15.

much importance) to the remains of his unfortunate countrymen. When he arrived at the dismal spot, he beheld the vestiges of the camp, the white bones of the deceased heaped together in some places and dispersed in others, the fragments of weapons, the mutilated limbs of horses and men, and the altars on which the barbarians had sacrificed the tribunes and centurions. As it was impossible for the soldiers to distinguish the remains of their friends and relatives, they buried the bones of all indiscriminately, with feelings of mournful sympathy towards the deceased, and fierce resentment against the enemy. In erecting the mound Germanicus himself placed the first sod; but his conduct in the whole transaction was displeasing to Tiberius, either on account of the emperor's deep-rooted jealousy against him, or because he considered that the operations of the campaign were unnecessarily delayed.

After the ceremony Germanicus went in pursuit of Arminius, and brought him to an engagement, in which neither side could boast of victory. The Roman army being led back to the Ems, Germanicus put some of his legions on board of the vessels, intending to return as he had come; part of the cavalry were to regain the Rhine along the sea-shore, while Cæcina was to conduct his division through a country that was intersected with rivers, rendered almost impassable by thick forests and deep marshes. The Cherusci, used to such ground, and armed in a manner suitable to it, possessed great advantage over the heavy troops of the Romans, and were encouraged by Arminius to expect another such victory as had destroyed Varus and his ill-fated legions. But the Romans were delivered by the experience and intrepidity

of Cæcina, who made such an impetuous sally from his camp, that the barbarians, who expected little opposition, were terrified and completely routed. The different legions did not arrive at the Rhine, till they had encountered the greatest perils from the attacks of the enemy, the violence of the elements, and the rugged state of the country. Dismal reports were propagated that they were surrounded or destroyed, and that the Germans were about to invade Gaul; and so great was the terror, that the bridge over the Rhine would have been destroyed, if the courage of Agrippina had not resisted so precipitate a measure. This spirited woman undertook the duties of a commander, and distributed clothes and medicines to the soldiers who needed them: it is related also, that she stood at the entrance of the bridge, thanking and commending the legions on their return. This conduct, and the part she formerly sustained in appeasing the sedition of the soldiers, filled Tiberius with many painful reflections, which were artfully fomented by his favourite Sejanus.

TIBERIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 15.

He refused the title of *Father of his country*, which was more than once offered him by the people, nor would he allow an oath to be taken to observe his acts, although the senate proposed it. He declared that the condition of all men was uncertain, and that the greater his exaltation, the greater was his danger. Notwithstanding this appearance of moderation, no one believed that he was actuated by any sincere regard for the rights of the citizens; as he renewed those actions for treason and libel, which the Romans distinguished by the name of *maiestas*. In the days of the republic persons were considered guilty of this crime, if they had betrayed the army, excited

Tac. Ann. i.
72.

TIBERIUS,
^{1, 2.}
 A. D. 15.

Suet. iii. 28.

Tac. Ann. i.
 74.

Tac. Ann. i.
 76.

sedition among the people, or injured the state by the bad administration of its affairs; but while such deeds were punished, freedom of speech was subjected to no restraint. Augustus was the first who extended the law, so that it should embrace offences for libel, being provoked at the daring scurrility with which Cassius Severus aspersed both men and women of illustrious rank. Tiberius for a short time appeared to disregard all the censures that were directed against him, affirming that in a free city, the tongues and minds of men ought to be free. Afterwards, however, being irritated by the satires which were written against his cruelty and pride, and his variance with his mother, he ordered that the laws should be put in force; and the consequence was that the most frivolous words and actions became liable to indictment. One Roman knight was accused of having sold the statue of Augustus, when he disposed of his gardens; and another, of having violated the name of Augustus by perjury. Some of the charges against a prætor, who was brought to trial, were, that he had placed his own statue higher than that of the Cæsars, and that in another statue he had removed the head of Augustus, and substituted that of Tiberius. Although the defendants in these cases were acquitted, yet an opening was made for the most vexatious proceedings, and the lives and fortunes of the greatest citizens were placed at the mercy of profligate informers. Hispo, a man of this class, raised himself from indigence and obscurity by gratifying the malignant disposition of the emperor; and others eagerly followed his example, when they found that affluence and power were to be the rewards of their guilt.

The people of Achaia and Macedonia having

complained of their burdens, were relieved from the proconsular government for a time, and transferred to Tiberius: by which it appears, that the provinces of the emperor were subject to fewer exactions than those of the senate.

TIBERIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 15.

The disturbances at the theatre, which were excited by the rivalry of the actors, became so violent that some of the people and military were killed, and the tribune of the prætorian cohort was wounded. It was proposed in the senate that the prætors should have the power of punishing the actors by scourging; and although this was not carried, many strict regulations were enacted, and among others, that no senator should enter the house of the pantomimic performers; that the Roman knights should not accompany them when they went abroad; that they should not exhibit except in the theatre; and that the spectators who were guilty of disorders might be sent into banishment. Tac. Ann. i. 77.

Tiberius recalled the privilege, which the seditious troops had lately extorted, of being discharged after sixteen years' service; he declared that it was necessary for the state that they should be detained until their twentieth year. He paid the people the money which had been bequeathed them by Augustus, but not before he had taken cruel revenge on an unfortunate wit, who ventured to remind him of the delay. For as a funeral was crossing the forum, a buffoon went up to the body of the deceased, and besought him to inform Augustus, that his legacies to the people had not been paid. Tiberius sent for the man, and having paid him what was due, commanded him to be put to death, saying, that he would now be able to carry the intelligence himself. Tac. Ann. i. 78. Dion. lvii. Suet. iii. 57.

TIBERIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 16.

Tac. Ann. ii.

1—4.

Jos. Ant. xviii.

2.

In the following year the East was disturbed by the dissensions among the Parthians. This people began to be inspired with feelings of aversion and contempt for Vonones, who had been an hostage at Rome, and whom they had invited thence, during the life of Augustus, to become their king. Although at first they welcomed him with joy, they afterwards reflected, that it would appear a mark of degeneracy in the Parthians, who had slain Crassus, and defeated Antony, to receive a prince from the capital of their enemies. His manners also, so different from those of his ancestors, increased their disgust. They despised a king, who was regardless of horses and the chase, who was carried in a litter, and surrounded with Greek attendants; and even his courtesy and easy access, being virtues to which they were unaccustomed, were as offensive as if they had been actual vices. In this state of dissatisfaction, they turned their thoughts to Artabanus, who was of the race of the Arsacidæ; and though he was defeated in the first engagement, he succeeded in gaining the throne. Vonones took refuge among the Armenians, who, as their sovereignty happened to be vacant, were willing to confer it upon him; but as he could not maintain the war against Artabanus without aid, and the Romans were unwilling to support him, he surrendered himself to Silanus, the governor of Syria, who kept him in custody, but allowed him to enjoy his kingly title.

Tac. Ann. ii.
5—18.

These disturbances in the East were not displeasing to Tiberius, as they gave him a pretext for interrupting his nephew in a career of success, which began to be too great for his jealousy to endure. Germanicus, considering that the con-

veyance by sea would be much more expeditious and convenient for his troops, had ordered a thousand vessels of different kinds to be constructed, in which his army was safely carried from the Rhine to the mouth of the Ems. Having spent some days in crossing to the right bank of this river, he was informed that the Angrivarii had revolted in his rear: he, therefore, immediately dispatched some cavalry and light forces, which devastated their country, and revenged their perfidy. The Cherusci, commanded by Arminius, awaited his arrival on the opposite side of the Weser; but he forced his passage, with the loss of Cariovalda, the chief of the Batavians, who perished with many of his nobles in the thickest of the onset. The two armies, each confident in its own superiority, afterwards came to an engagement in a plain near the river, surrounded by hills and woods, of which the barbarians had taken possession. Germanicus sending his cavalry to attack them in flank and rear, and at the same time advancing his infantry, threw them into irrecoverable confusion. Those who were in the woods rushed into the plain; those who were in the plain, endeavoured to escape into the woods; while the Cherusci, who were on the hills between them, were crushed between the two bodies of fugitives. Arminius himself was wounded, and fled, having in vain attempted to rally his troops, and having besmeared his face with his own blood, that he might be less easily recognized. Many of his men were drowned or slain in struggling to cross the Weser; some took refuge on the tops of trees, where the archers shot them; and for the space of ten miles the ground was covered with the bodies and arms of the killed, while the Romans

TIBERIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 16.

TIBERIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 16.

experienced but little loss. Among the spoils were discovered the chains which the barbarians, in certain anticipation of victory, had brought for their captives.

Tac Ann. ii.
18—21.

Germanicus, in commemoration of his victory, raised a species of trophy, inscribed with the names of the conquered nations; and this, more than all their losses, inflamed the Germans with resentment, and filled them with a desire of revenging their defeat. Instead of leaving their abodes, as they intended, and retiring beyond the Elbe, they flew to arms, and wished for another opportunity of trying their strength. The people and the nobles, the young and the old, suddenly commenced a harassing attack upon the Roman army, and at length selected a position, defended by woods and marshes, where they hoped to overpower their conquerors. But Germanicus possessed exact information of all their plans, and skilfully provided against them; though nothing more effectually contributed to his victory, than the superior manner in which his troops were armed for close engagement. The barbarians, crowded together in a narrow space, were unable to use their long spears, or to gain any advantage from the activity of their bodies; while the Romans directed their strong and compact armour with full effect against the huge and half naked limbs of their enemies, and opened a way through them with the most dreadful carnage. Germanicus, who had uncovered his head that he might be more conspicuous, commanded them to show no mercy, as the war could be finished only by the extermination of their foes. In obedience to this sanguinary order, the slaughter was continued until night.

Germanicus harangued his troops in praise of their valour, and raised a pile of arms, with an inscription denoting that the army of Tiberius Cæsar, having conquered the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, consecrated these monuments to Mars, to Jupiter, and to Augustus. He made no mention of himself, either through fear of exciting envy, or because he was satisfied with the consciousness of his exploits, and the assurance that his fame could not be obscured. As it was late in the summer, he sent home some of his legions by land, but resolved to carry back the greater part by sea. He had not long set sail from the Ems, when such tempestuous weather occurred, that part of his vessels were sunk, some were dashed on shore, and others were carried out into the ocean, or to the neighbouring islands. His own trireme alone came safe to land in the territory of the Chauci, and during the whole tempest he inveighed against himself as the author of so much misery, and was with difficulty restrained by his friends from precipitating himself into the sea. When the weather became more serene, some of his vessels returned, and were immediately refitted, in order to explore the islands, where his men had perished with hunger, or been compelled to support themselves upon the flesh of their horses. Many were recovered by this timely search: some were ransomed by the Angrivarii from the interior of the country, and restored to Germanicus; and others, who had been carried into Britain, were sent back by the princes of that country.

The report of this shipwreck inspired the Germans with fresh hopes of conquering their invaders; but when they beheld the promptitude

TIBERIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 16.

TAC. ANN. II.
22—24.

TAC. ANN. II. •
25, 26.

TIBERIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 16.

and vigour with which Germanicus attacked them, they were seized with greater consternation than before. They considered that the Romans must be insuperable, if, after having lost their fleet and so many of their troops, they could renew their attacks with as much undaunted courage, as if their numbers had been increased. Little doubt was entertained, that in the following summer the Germans would submit, and the war be finished: but Tiberius sent frequent letters urging his nephew to return and celebrate the triumph which had been decreed to him. When Germanicus requested another year for the completion of his conquests, he made him an offer of the consulship, at the same time alleging other reasons for his return, which Germanicus perceived were invented with the jealous motive of obstructing his glory, but to which he was compelled to submit.

Tac. Ann. ii.
27—31.

About the same time Drusus Libo, a young man of noble family but of weak and credulous disposition, was brought to trial for treasonable intentions. He was betrayed by Firmius Catus, a senator, who had been his intimate friend, had incited him to every kind of vice and folly, and urged him to have recourse to the arts of magic and divination. When Tiberius received secret intelligence of his conduct, he practised the most artful dissimulation, raising Libo to the prætorship, inviting him to his table, and not allowing himself by look or word to disclose any resentment against him. But while the emperor delayed, a notorious informer being apprised of the magical practices of Libo, denounced him to the consuls, and the senators were convened with a notice that they were going to deliberate upon a great and atrocious affair. The charges, however, did not correspond to this cha-

racter: one of them was, that Libo had wished to ascertain by his superstitious arts, whether he should be rich enough to cover the Appian Road with money as far as Brundisium. There were others equally frivolous, and the most serious was, that in a certain book he had written notes of an offensive or secret nature against the names of the Cæsars and some of the senators. When he denied the allegation, it was determined to examine his slaves by torture; but as it was contrary to an ancient statute to endanger a master's life by such a trial of his slaves, Tiberius artfully evaded the law by commanding them to be sold, in order that they might give their evidence against Libo. The culprit, finding that he was excluded from all hopes of mercy, or even justice, stabbed himself. His property was divided among his accusers, and such of them as were of the senatorial rank were rewarded with the prætorship. Tiberius, with hypocritical clemency, declared that he intended to intercede for the life of the criminal, if he had not prevented him by a voluntary death.

TIBERIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 16.

Decrees of the senate were passed for expelling astrologers and diviners from Italy: some of them were even put to death, although Tiberius was very intimate with Thrasyllus, a person of that class, and was in the constant habit of attempting to explore the destinies of futurity.

Tac. Ann. ii.
32.
Dion. lvi.

Endeavours were made to oppose the progress of luxury by enacting, that vessels of gold should not be allowed for domestic use, but should be appropriated to sacred purposes; and that men should not disgrace themselves by wearing silk*.

Dion. lvii.

L. Piso declared in the senate that he was so

Tac. Ann. ii.
34.

* *No vestis serica viros fedaret.*—Tac. Ann. ii. 33.

TIBERIUS,
2, 3,
A. D. 16.

disgusted with the corruption and depravity of the times, that he would leave Rome, and spend his days in some distant retirement; but Tiberius endeavoured to soothe his indignation, and urged his relatives to detain him by their authority or entreaties. The same Piso evinced his courageous spirit by obtaining justice from Urgulania, a woman whom the friendship of Augusta had raised to such an eminence, that she deemed herself superior to the laws. When summoned by Piso she refused to obey, and Augusta complained that she herself was injured and disparaged in the person of her favourite. Tiberius so far indulged the resentment of his mother, that he promised to go himself into court, and assist Urgulania, and he left the palace for this purpose; but Piso still persevered; and when Augusta found that he was immovable, she paid the money for which he had commenced the suit.

Tac. Ann. ii.
39, 40.
Dion. lvii.

The daring pretensions of Clemens, a slave of the late Agrippa Posthumus, nearly involved the empire in civil commotions. This man, on the death of Augustus, had, with a courage superior to his condition, formed the plan of carrying off his master from the island of Planasia, and conducting him to the German legions, in order that he might be declared emperor; but his project was defeated by the slowness of the vessel in which he embarked. After the murder of Agrippa he conceived the still more daring plan of counterfeiting his master, as there was not much difference in their age and appearance. When he propagated a rumour that Agrippa was still alive, many believed it from the weakness of credulity, and many from a desire of revolution. The increase of his adherents in Gaul, in Italy, and even at Rome,

would not allow Tiberius any longer to despise the imposture, and he entrusted Sallustius Crispus with the task of opposing it. Crispus employed artifice to effect his purpose, sending emissaries to offer Clemens money, and to pretend to become his partisans; and by their assistance he was seized one night, when he happened to be unguarded, and conducted in chains to the palace. When Tiberius asked him how he became Agrippa, he replied, "In the same way that you became Caesar." After ineffectual attempts by torture to make him discover his accomplices, he was killed in a retired part of the palace, and his body carried away secretly; and though many knights and senators, even of the household of the prince, were said to have supported him by their influence, and assisted him by their advice, no investigation was made.

TIBERIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 16.

In the following year Germanicus celebrated his triumph over the Cherusci, and the other nations of Germany that he had conquered. Spoils, captives, the representations of mountains, rivers, and battles, were carried in the pageant; and he received the glory of having finished the war, since jealousy alone had prevented him. His own noble appearance, and the chariot crowded with five of his children, increased the interest of the spectacle; but gloomy anticipations entered the minds of the citizens, when they reflected, that the popularity of his father Drusus had not been favourable to him, that his uncle Marcellus had died amidst the deepest regret of the people, and that in general the love of the Romans appeared to be fatal to those who were the objects of it. Tiberius distributed three hundred sesterces to each of the people in the name of Germanicus, and promised to become his colleague in the consulship; but all his professed

TIBERIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 17.

TAC. ANN. ii.
41.

TIBERIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 17.
}

Dion. lvii.
Tac. Ann. ii.
42.

regard was considered to be insincere, especially as he invented reasons, or availed himself of such as offered, for removing him to a distance from Rome.

Archelaus, who had reigned over Cappadocia for the long period of fifty years, had given offence to Tiberius by the neglect with which he had treated him during his retirement at Rhodes. The emperor, cherishing the deeper resentment as he had formerly been of service to the monarch, persuaded his mother to write letters to him, in which she encouraged him to hope for clemency, if he would condescend to come and sue for it. Archelaus, either ignorant of the stratagem, or afraid of violence if he did not comply, came to Rome, and was condemned by the unforgiving emperor to undergo a trial in the senate; and although he was acquitted, yet the indignities, which he had suffered in his advanced age, caused, or at least accelerated, his death. His kingdom was reduced to a Roman province, and by the assistance of its revenues, Tiberius lowered to half its amount the tax which was placed upon all vendibles. About the same time Antiochus, king of Commagene, and Philopator, king of Cilicia, having died, disturbances arose among their people, as the greater part wished to be subject to the Romans, while others desired to continue under the regal government. The provinces also of Syria and Judæa, oppressed with the burdens that were laid upon them, petitioned for a reduction of their tribute.

Tac. Ann. ii.
43.

The unsettled state of these countries, and the commotions which had arisen in Armenia, induced Tiberius to declare in the senate, that the presence of Germanicus was necessary for the regulation of the East, his own age being on the decline, and that of Drusus not being sufficiently mature. The pro-

vinces, therefore, beyond the sea were intrusted to Germanicus, with the exercise of ampler powers than those of the ordinary governors; but notwithstanding this increase of dignity, it was considered that Tiberius sent him into the East, merely that he might be exposed to greater danger, either from the vicissitudes of chance or the machinations of malice. For Creticus Silanus, whose daughter was betrothed to the eldest son of Germanicus, had been removed from the government of Syria, and Cn. Piso, a man of violent and unbending disposition, had been appointed in his stead. Besides the haughty spirit which he inherited from his father, who had been a partisan of Brutus and Cassius, Piso was elated by the rank and power of his wife Plancina. While he scarcely yielded to the emperor himself, he despised his children as far inferior to him, nor did he doubt that he was selected for the government of Syria, in order to repress the expectations of Germanicus. It was the belief of some persons that he received secret instructions from Tiberius; and Tacitus says, that Augusta certainly instigated his wife to harass and mortify Agrippina. For the court was divided into two parties, one in favour of Drusus, and the other of Germanicus. While Tiberius naturally supported his son, others felt a warmer sympathy with Germanicus, on account of the emperor's unjust aversion to him. His descent by the mother's side was also more illustrious than that of Drusus, and the renown of his wife Agrippina was an additional claim to popularity. The two competitors themselves were unmoved by the contests of their friends and relations, and preserved a remarkable concord with each other.

TIBERIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 17.

Not long afterwards Drusus was sent into Illyria, Tac. Ann. ii.
44—46.

TIBERIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 17.

in order that he might be removed from the luxuries of Rome, and inured to the duties of war. The dissensions between the Suevi and the Cherusci furnished a pretext for his departure; for the Germans were no sooner free from the terror of the Roman arms, than they were inflamed with martial rivalry, and commenced a war among themselves. The Suevi, under the command of their king Maroboduus, and the Cherusci, under the command of Arminius, who was considered the champion of German liberty, fought a doubtful engagement, in which the right wings of both armies were routed; but Maroboduus retreated without hazarding a second battle, and sent ambassadors to Tiberius requesting succour. The emperor replied, that as he had not assisted the Romans against the Cherusci, it was unfair to request their aid against the same enemy. Drusus, however, was sent for the purpose (as it appeared) of watching the operations of the Germans.

Tac. Ann. ii.
52.

In the same year war was excited in Africa, by a Numidian named Tacfarinas, who had served in the Roman army, and afterwards deserted. His followers consisted at first of only predatory bands; these he inured to a more regular system of war, and at last found himself at the head of a numerous army of Numidians and Moors. Fabius Camillus, the proconsul of Africa, could assemble only a single legion, and some auxiliary troops; but with these he defeated the Numidians, and revived in his family that military renown which had long been extinct. For it is remarked by Tacitus, that the name of Camillus had not been distinguished in war, since the son of that great Camillus who recovered Rome from the Gauls. The commander who vanquished Tacfarinas was considered to be

inexperienced in military affairs, and for this reason the emperor readily extolled his exploits in the senate. The triumphal honours were voted to him, and this distinction did not expose him to any danger, as his mode of life was modest and unassuming.

TIBERIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 17.

Twelve celebrated cities of Asia were overthrown by an earthquake, and the calamity was rendered still more terrible by happening at night. Sardis was the city which suffered most; but they were all relieved by the liberality of Tiberius, who gave sums of money for their reparation, and remitted the payment of their tribute for five years. For as long as he retained any virtue, he was not deficient in munificence, but expended his treasures both on cities and individuals. Nor was he rapacious of the wealth of others, but refused even the legacies which were left him by those who were not his friends, or who had needy relations.

Dion. lvii.
Tac. Ann. ii.
47.


Livy, the eloquent historian, died this year at Padua. The poet Ovid also died in the place of exile to which he had been condemned by Augustus.

Usher.

In the following year, Tiberius was declared consul for the third time, and Germanicus for the second. The emperor intended to honour his nephew by making himself his colleague, but he did not hold the consulship more than a few days. When Germanicus entered upon the office, he was at Nicopolis in Epirus, and from thence he passed through Greece into Asia, but not without being exposed to the insolent and contumacious behaviour of Cn. Piso. He bore it, however, with great equanimity, and when a tempest arose, in which the death of his adversary might have been easily attributed to the violence of the elements, he sent triremes to his rescue. Piso was not softened by

TIBERIUS,
4, 5.
A. D. 18.
Tac. Ann. ii.
53—58.
Suet. iii. 26.

TIBERIUS,
4, 5.
A. D. 18.



this generosity, but hastily leaving his benefactor, went into Syria, where by gifts and vicious indulgences he procured the favour of the dissolute soldiers. Germanicus considered it necessary to visit the Armenians, who, since the removal of Vonones, were without a king. Their choice was now fixed upon Zeno the son of Polemon, king of Pontus, who had gained their suffrages by the regard which he had shown from his earliest age for their customs and institutions. Germanicus, therefore, with the approbation of the nobles, placed the royal diadem on his head in the city of Artaxata, from the name of which place his new subjects saluted him with the appellation of Artaxias. Cappadocia, being reduced to the form of a province, was intrusted to C. Veranius, and in order to inspire a favourable opinion of the Roman lenity, some diminution was made in the taxes that were paid to its kings. Commagene was also for the first time subjected to a Roman governor.

Germanicus received an embassy from Artabanus the king of Parthia, reminding him of the friendship of the Roman and Parthian people, and requesting that Vonones might not be kept in Syria, which was a convenient situation for fomenting rebellion among his subjects. Vonones was in consequence removed to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia.

CHAPTER III.

Maroboduus, King of the Suevi, expelled from his Dominions. — Dissensions in Thrace, between Cotys and Rhescuporis. — Death of Vonones. — Germanicus visits Egypt, and afterwards dies at Antioch. — His character. — Grief of the Romans at his death. — Decrees against profligate Women. — Punishment of the Jews, and of those addicted to the Egyptian superstitions. — Death of Arminius. — Arrival of Agrippina at Rome, and funeral of Germanicus. — Trial of Piso, and his death. — Africa disturbed by Tacfarinas. — Commotion in Thrace. — Rebellion excited in Gaul by Julius Florus and Sacrovir, who are defeated, and destroy themselves. — C. Lutorius Priscus put to death for a poem. — A respite of ten days granted to persons condemned by the Senate. — Tiberius refuses to enact any new sumptuary laws. — The Tribunician power conferred upon Drusus. — The Asylums in the Grecian cities reformed. — Tiberius returns to Rome on account of the illness of his mother. — Blæsus carries on the war against Tacfarinas. — Death of Junia.

DRUSUS was successful in aggravating the dissensions among the Germans, and at last effected the overthrow of the unfortunate Maroboduus, king of the Suevi. Catualda, a noble youth among the Gothones, who had formerly been driven from his country by the power of Maroboduus, was instigated to seek his revenge by arms. He invaded the territories of the monarch with a large army,

TIBERIUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 19.

Tac. Ann. ii.
62, 63.

TIBERIUS,
 5, 6.
 A. D. 19.

and having corrupted his nobles, gained possession of the palace, and the castle, where the ancient treasures of the Suevi were deposited. Maroboduus finding himself deserted on all sides, crossed the Danube, and wrote letters to Tiberius, beseeching his protection. The emperor replied, that he might have a safe and honourable retreat in Italy; and he was so elated by the dethronement of the king, that in one of his orations he could not forbear to extol his own policy in accomplishing it, and he declared in the senate that not even Pyrrhus nor Antiochus had been equally formidable to the Roman people. Maroboduus lived in exile at Ravenna for eighteen years, and his attachment to life greatly diminished, in the opinion of the ancients, his former renown. His adversary Catualda was soon after driven from the kingdom, where he had established himself by force, and was compelled to take refuge at Forum Julii, in Gaul. The barbarians, who accompanied the two exiles, were settled beyond the Danube, and Vannius, one of the Quadi, was appointed their king.

Tac. Ann. ii.
 64—67.

Tiberius was so much satisfied with the success of his wily policy, that he determined to have recourse to it in his transactions with Rhescuporis, king of Thrace. This country had formerly been under the sole dominion of Rhoemetalces, at whose death Augustus had divided it between his brother Rhescuporis and his son Cotys. The ambitious disposition of Rhescuporis urged him to make encroachments upon the territories of his nephew, although he was restrained by his fear of Augustus, whom he could not expect to remain indifferent to the violation of his own arrangements. When, however, he heard of the death of that emperor, he

committed such ravages in the country of Cotys, as led to hostilities between the two princes.

TIBERIUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 19.

Tiberius, anxious for the preservation of peace, commanded them not to settle their disputes by arms; and Cotys immediately dismissed the auxiliary forces which he had procured. Rhescuporis, with feigned moderation, acceded to a treaty with his nephew; but at a banquet which was given in honour of it, he caused him, after a long scene of wine and revelry, to be loaded with chains. Having by such perfidy made himself master of all Thrace, he wrote to Tiberius, declaring that a plot had been laid against him, but that he had anticipated the contriver of it. Tiberius sent him a gentle answer, urging him to surrender Cotys, and to come and justify his conduct to the senate: but the guilty prince, after wavering between his anger and his fear, thought it safest to give a consummation to his crimes, and therefore ordered Cotys to be put to death, pretending that he had destroyed himself. Tiberius, whose duplicity was equal to that of the Thracian, determined to carry his perfidy into execution by means of Poinponius Flaccus, who was an intimate friend of Rhescuporis. Deceived by the great promises of Flaccus, the king put himself in the power of his enemies, and was carried to Rome. Being accused in the senate by the wife of Cotys, he was condemned to be exiled from his kingdom, but he was afterwards killed at Alexandria, for attempting to make his escape, if the charge alleged against him was true. Thrace was divided between his son Rhoemetalces, who had opposed the unjust designs of his father, and the children of Cotys; and as these were not yet grown up, Trebellienus Rufus was appointed to govern the kingdom during their minority, in

TIBERIUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 19.

the same manner as Marcus Lepidus had formerly been sent into Egypt as guardian to the children of Ptolemy.

Tac. Ann. ii.
68.

About the same time Vonones, who had been removed into Cilicia, bribed the persons who had the custody of him, and endeavoured to make his escape into Armenia. Having gone out under pretence of hunting, he penetrated some thick forests, and was enabled by the swiftness of his horse to reach the river Pyramus; but as the bridges had been broken down upon the report of his escape, and the river was not fordable, he was overtaken by the Romans. The officer, who had been appointed to guard him, stabbed him as if in a transport of anger; but this only strengthened the opinion that he had acted in collusion with Vonones, and killed him for fear of discovery.

Suet. iii. 49.

Suetonius says that Vonones had carried with him great treasures in his exile, and that he was perfidiously spoiled of them, and put to death. From his account and that of Tacitus, it seems probable that the unhappy monarch was permitted to flee, in order to furnish a plausible excuse for his destruction.

Tac. Ann. ii.
69.
Suet. iii. 52.

Germanicus during the summer visited Egypt, being inspired with a laudable desire of inspecting the wonders of that celebrated country. The magnificent ruins of Thebes, the statue of Memnon which uttered a vocal sound when struck by the rays of the sun, the pyramids, and other stupendous works of the country, attracted his notice; nor did he forget the claims of humanity during the gratification of his curiosity, but relieved the pressure of a severe famine by opening the granaries. Tiberius, pursuing his system of malevolent detraction against him, complained in the senate, that he had

presumed to go into Egypt without his knowledge, which was an infringement of the ordinance of Augustus, who had forbidden any senator or knight to visit that province without the emperor's permission.

TIBERIUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 19.

Germanicus, on his return from Egypt, had the mortification to find that all his orders respecting the cities and legions had been countermanded by the insolence of Piso. An open animosity arose between the two, and Piso had resolved to leave Syria, when Germanicus was attacked with a disorder, from which at first he recovered, but afterwards experienced a relapse. Piso retired to Seleucia, watching the progress of a malady, which, according to the prevalent opinion, he himself had occasioned by poison, and even by magical arts. Germanicus, exasperated by his sufferings, wrote him a letter renouncing all friendship with him, and, according to some accounts, commanding him to depart from the province. Piso, whether in consequence of such an order or not, certainly set sail, but slackened his course, that he might not be far distant, in case the death of Germanicus should allow him to return into Syria. The unfortunate prince, finding that it was in vain to struggle with his secret malady, made a final address to his friends, lamenting his fate in being sacrificed to the malice of Piso and Plancina, and conjuring them to avenge his death. After this appeal they touched the right hand of their dying leader, and swore that they would abandon their lives rather than their revenge. Turning next to Agrippina, he besought her by her regard for his memory, and by her love for their children, to calm her resentment, to submit to the fury of fortune, and not to exasperate those who were more powerful than

Tac. Ann. ii.
69—72.
Suet. iv. 1, &c.

TIBERIUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 19.

herself. To this he added some other advice, but it was given in secret, and was supposed to express his suspicions of Tiberius. His death, which followed soon afterwards, was a subject of universal regret; for so great had been his courtesy to the allies, and clemency to the enemies of the Roman people, that not only his own countrymen, but even foreign nations and kings, deplored his loss. He possessed in an eminent degree all the highest qualities both of body and mind; beauty, and extraordinary courage; dignity in command without arrogance; remarkable benevolence, and a wonderful skill in gaining the affections of mankind. His devotion to military pursuits had not excluded those of a more intellectual nature, as he was distinguished for eloquence and learning, and had even left some Greek comedies among other memorials of his ingenuity. Unless, therefore, his merits have been exaggerated by the partiality of the Romans, we must consider them such as few individuals in any age have been able to equal, and perhaps none have surpassed.

Dion. lvii.
Suet. iv. 1, 7.
Tac. Ann. ii.
83, 85.

He died in his thirty-fourth year, at Antioch, or according to Tacitus at Epidaphne, which was probably a part of Antioch, or contiguous to that city. His wife Agrippina had borne him nine children, one of whom, Caius, succeeded to the imperial dignity. Burning to obtain revenge for the death of her husband, she immediately began her voyage to Rome, carrying with her the ashes of Germanicus, and followed by the commiseration of all who beheld her suddenly deprived of so much dignity and happiness. Piso, who was in the island of Cos, no sooner heard of the death of the prince, than he went to the temples and offered up sacrifices, while his wife Plancia indulged in still

more extravagant demonstrations of joy. He was instigated by his friends to attempt to seize the government of Syria by force; but he was overpowered by Cn. Sentius, on whom the command had devolved, and was compelled to surrender on condition of being safely conducted to Rome.

TIBERIUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 19.

When the news of the illness of Germanicus reached the capital, the grief of the people burst forth in angry complaints, and they declared that it was now manifest for what purpose he had been sent into a distant country, and exposed to the intrigues of his enemies. But the intelligence of his recovery afterwards arrived, and was eagerly credited: although it was night, the citizens ran to the Capitol to offer victims, and almost threw down the doors of the temple in their precipitate zeal. Tiberius was roused from his sleep by the turbulence of their joy, and by the cry which was everywhere heard, *Rome is safe, our country is safe, Germanicus is safe.* When the delusion was destroyed by the certain information of his death, they resigned themselves to the most uncontrollable grief, which continued even during the holidays of the month of December. In their frantic anger they assailed the temples with stones, overthrew the altars of the gods, cast their Lares into the streets, and even exposed their new-born children. Ingenuity was exhausted in devising honours to be paid to his memory; and the statues that were raised to him in various parts of the world almost defied computation. His sepulchre was reared at Antioch, and before his body was burned, it was exposed in the forum of that city. Suetonius says that it exhibited certain symptoms of poison; but Tacitus with greater appearance of truth affirms, that it was impossible to judge between the contradictory

Tac. Ann. ii.
82, 83.
Suet. iv. 5, 6.

TIBERIUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 19.

accounts, because the opinion of all persons was biassed by their partiality, either to Germanicus or Piso.

Tac. Ann. ii. 84.

While the grief of the citizens was yet fresh, it was announced that Livia, the sister of Germanicus and wife of Drusus, had given birth to twins of the male sex. This trivial occurrence was so gratifying to the emperor, that he boasted to the senators, that such a thing had never before happened to any Roman of equal dignity. The event however was displeasing to the people, as if the augmentation of the children of Drusus was an additional misfortune to the family of Germanicus.

Tac. Ann. ii. 85.
Suet. iii. 35.

Severe decrees were passed against the profligacy of the female sex, and it was forbidden that any woman, whose grandfather, father, or husband had been a Roman knight, should submit to prostitution. By the ancient laws, those who were guilty of this crime were obliged to make a profession of it before the ediles, the disgrace itself being considered a sufficient punishment of their turpitude. Vistilia, however, a woman of prætorian family, being regardless of this infamy, was banished by Tiberius; and he inflicted the same punishment on other females of licentious character.

Tac. Ann. ii. 85.
Suet. iii. 36.
Jos. Ant. xviii.
3.

The Jews, and those who were addicted to the Egyptian idolatry, became the objects of public indignation. Four thousand freedmen of the Hebrew nation were sent into Sardinia in order to suppress the robberies there, and it was considered, that if they perished by the unhealthiness of the climate, the loss would be very unimportant. The rest of their countrymen were ordered to leave Rome, under pain of perpetual slavery, unless they abjured their religion within a certain time. A great many were punished for refusing to bear

arms, which they considered to be contrary to their law,* on account (we may presume) of the idolatrous worship paid to the Roman standards, and the difficulty of observing their religious duties in a heathen camp. The cause of this persecution was the fraudulent conduct of four Jews, who having made a proselyte of Fulvia, a noble lady of Rome, appropriated to their own use some offerings which she had given them for the Temple at Jerusalem. Her husband having complained to Tiberius, the offence was visited upon all their countrymen at Rome*. The odium excited against the Egyptian superstitions was much more just. For a knight named Mundus, having become enamoured of Paulina, a married woman of high rank, gained possession of her by means of the priests of Isis, after all his solicitations had failed in overcoming her virtue. As she was a worshipper of that goddess, the priests, being bribed for the nefarious purpose, persuaded her that the god Anubis was in love with her, and under this delusion she spent the night in the temple, Mundus occupying the place of the expected celestial visitant. The successful lover was unable to keep his own secret, and when the affair was investigated, the priests were crucified, the temple of Isis destroyed, and her statue thrown into the river.

TIBERIUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 19.

Besides this act of justice, Tiberius distinguished himself by an impulse of generosity, which seemed foreign to his general character. For a German chief having promised to put Arminius to death, if poison was sent him for the purpose; answer was given, that the Romans did not revenge themselves

Tac. Ann. ii.
88.

* Josephus seems to place this event some years later: but Usher and other chronologists, comparing it with the account of Tacitus, refer it to the year 19.

TIBERIUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 19.

upon their enemies by secret artifices, but in open warfare. Tacitus considers this magnanimity as equal to that of the ancient Romans, who refused to concur in poisoning King Pyrrhus; but in those rude warriors it appears to have been an act of genuine virtue, while the character of Tiberius induces us to ascribe his conduct to some motive of policy or ostentation. Arminius, after the departure of the Romans and the expulsion of Maroboduus, began to aspire to the sovereign power, and to overthrow the liberty of his countrymen, which he had defended with so much valour against the attacks of a foreign enemy. He lost his life in the unjust attempt; but he was long celebrated among the barbarians for his warlike exploits, and even Tacitus admires the chieftain, who successfully resisted the aggressions of the Roman people in the height of their power. His renown would have been much more indisputable, if he had disdained to have recourse to the arts of treachery, and had confided in his valour alone.

TIBERIUS,
6, 7.
A. D. 20.
TAC. ANN. iii.
1, &c.

The rigour of winter did not deter Agrippina from pursuing her voyage to Italy; and as soon as her arrival was expected, the friends of Germanicus, the soldiers who had served under him, and a multitude of other classes, hastened to the town of Brundisium, where she was to land. Not only the harbour and the parts contiguous to the sea, but the walls and houses of the town, and all places for an immense distance, were filled with a crowd of anxious mourners. As soon as she reached the shore, accompanied by two of her children, and bearing the urn which contained the ashes of her husband, there was an equal burst of lamentation from friends and from strangers, from women and from men. In her progress towards Rome, the

ashes of her husband were carried upon the shoulders of tribunes and centurions; the inhabitants of the towns through which she passed clothed themselves in mourning, and burnt vestments and perfumes according to the wealth of the place; numbers also flocked from the adjoining country, and raised altars, and offered victims, to the gods called the Manes. Drusus advanced as far as Terracina to meet the procession: the consuls, the senate, and a great part of the people filled the roads, evincing a grief which was free from adulation, because it was well known that Tiberius scarcely dissembled his joy at the death of his nephew. His remains were deposited in the tomb of Augustus; and while some persons complained that the funeral rites were not sufficiently splendid, others more deeply irritated the jealousy of the emperor by their loud commendations of Agrippina, and their ardent prayers for the safety of herself and children. Offended by the expression of their feelings, he published an edict, commanding the people to moderate their grief, and resume their customary occupations and pleasures.

TIBERIUS,
6, 7.
A. D. 20.

When Piso, the suspected author of the death, arrived in Rome, Tiberius declined taking cognizance of his cause, but referred it entirely to the senate. The accusers easily proved against him some charges of gross misconduct in the provinces, but they had little evidence to substantiate the crime of having poisoned Germanicus. The allegation which they made, that Piso, when feasting near Germanicus, had infected his food with his hands, seemed absurd and incredible. But notwithstanding this deficiency of proof, all classes were implacably hostile against him. The emperor was offended at his attempt to gain Syria by

Tac. Ann. iii.
10—15.

TIBERIUS,
6, 7.
A. D. 20.

force : the senate could not be persuaded that the death of Germanicus was to be attributed to any thing but treachery : while the people openly threatened that they would take vengeance into their own hands, if the senators acquitted him. His wife Plancina, who at first declared that she would share the fortune of her husband, whatever it might be, began to represent his cause and her own as distinct, as soon as she had secured a pardon for herself by the interest of Augusta. But nothing was more discouraging to him than the behaviour of Tiberius, who assumed a cold and inflexible appearance, without any indication of pity or anger. While his case seemed thus desperate, he was found one morning in his chamber with his throat cut, a sword lying near him on the ground. Tacitus informs us, that he had heard it related by elderly persons, that some writings were often seen in the hands of Piso, which he himself did not publish, but which, as his friends alleged, contained the letters and instructions which Tiberius had sent him against Germanicus ; and that he intended to produce them, and convict the emperor himself, if he had not been deluded by the false promises of Sejanus. They also affirmed, that he did not put himself to death, but was killed by some assassin. The judicious historian, while he relates these accounts, forbears to vouch for their authenticity : for (as he declares in a subsequent passage) the death of Germanicus was a topic on which many conflicting rumours were propagated, not only among his contemporaries, but also in subsequent ages. ' Piso being dead, proposals were made for degrading his children, and making his name infamous ; but their rigour was greatly mitigated by the authority of Tiberius, and Plancina was altogether pardoned in deference to the wishes of Augusta.

Tac. Ann. iii.
16.

Tac. Ann. iii.
19.

Tac. Ann. iii.
17.

Tacfarinas renewed, this year, the war in Africa. After ravaging the country and destroying some villages, he ventured to besiege a Roman cohort in a castle near the river Pagida. Decrius, the commander, boldly led out his troops to battle; but they were routed at the first onset, and he himself was slain in a fruitless attempt to rally them. When L. Apronius the proconsul was informed of this defeat, he considered it so disgraceful, that he had recourse to an act of severity which was rare in those days, ordering every tenth man of the cohort, on whom the lot fell, to be beaten to death. This example operated with so much salutary terror, that a body of not more than five hundred veterans defeated the forces of Tacfarinas. The Numidian chief, however, still continued a desultory and harassing mode of warfare, but at last was driven into the deserts.

TIBERIUS,
6, 7.
A. D. 20.

Tac. Ann. iii.
20.

Tac. Ann. iii.
21.

The law, called Papia Poppæa, which Augustus had enacted in his old age for the encouragement of wedlock, did not produce the benefit expected from it: marriages were not more frequent, but numberless persons were exposed to the vexatious attacks of informers. Tiberius therefore ordered fifteen senators to be appointed with authority to moderate the rigours of the law.

Tac. Ann. iii.
25, 28.

The Roman people were gratified at seeing Nero, the son of Germanicus, invested with honours, and afterwards united in marriage to Julia the daughter of Drusus. They considered on the other hand that the splendour of the family was defaced, when Drusus, the son of Claudius, and nephew of Germanicus, was betrothed to a daughter of Sejanus. The marriage, however, was not consummated, as Drusus was soon afterwards killed by a pear, which he had thrown up into the air in sport, but which fell into his mouth and suffocated him.

Tac. Ann. iii.
29.

Suet. v. 27.

TIBERIUS,
7, 8.
A. D. 21.

Suct. iii. 26.
Dion. lvii.
Tac. Ann. iii.
31.

In the following year Tiberius entered upon his fourth consulship, but did not hold it more than three months. As his son Drusus was his colleague, the people immediately predicted his destruction, because all, who had formerly borne the office with Tiberius, had perished by violent deaths. The emperor at the beginning of the year went into Campania, intending gradually to absent himself from the capital, or wishing to give his son an opportunity of discharging the duties of the consulship alone.

Tac. Ann. iii.
38.

Several nations of Thrace, unused to the Roman government, and complaining that there was no redress for their grievances, had recourse to arms : but as their leaders were persons of mean rank, and acted without unanimity, the commotion was soon suppressed. They laid siege to Philippopolis, a city built by Philip of Macedon, but were easily dispersed by the Roman forces under the command of P. Velleius.

Tac. Ann. iii.
40—43.

The people of Gaul, oppressed by the weight of debt which they were obliged to contract for the purpose of defraying their tributes, began an extensive rebellion. The chief instigators of it were Julius Florus among the Treviri, and Julius Sacrovir among the Ædui, both distinguished for their noble birth, and the services of their ancestors, which had procured for them the freedom of Rome. Almost all the states of Gaul were willing to join in the insurrection, but their movements were unsuccessful, because they were not made simultaneously.* The Andecavi and Turonii* revolted first, but were overcome by Acilius Aviola†. The

* The people of Angers and Tours.

† Valerius Maximus (l. 8, *de Minaculis*) relates concerning this Aviola, that being considered dead, and placed upon the funeral pile, he recovered his senses, and called for assistance : but the flames were too violent for him to be rescued.

insurgents that Florus was able to collect among the Treviri, were defeated; and he himself, after eluding the victors for a time, perished by his own hand, when he found that his place of retreat was surrounded by them. The Ædui, a rich and powerful state, presented a more formidable opposition. Sacrovir took possession of Augustodunum their capital, and obtained the most noble youths of Gaul, who were pursuing their studies there, as pledges for the fidelity of their parents and relations. His forces amounted to forty thousand men; but only a small portion of them were regularly armed, the rest being provided with no better weapons than hunting spears and other instruments of the chase. He had also a body of slaves destined for the gladiatorship, who, according to the custom of the nation, were armed with one entire covering of iron, which rendered them more fit for sustaining the blows of an enemy, than for returning them. These cumbersome warriors were called *Crupellarii*.

TIBERIUS,
7, 8.
A. D. 21.

C. Silius, advancing with two Roman legions and some auxiliary forces, devastated the country of the Sequani, who were the neighbours of the Æqui, and their allies in arms. He afterwards directed his march towards Augustodunum, the soldiers being so clamorous for speed, that they declared themselves willing to forego their accustomed rest, in order to come in sight of the enemy. They encountered Sacrovir at a distance of twelve miles from the city, with his troops drawn up on open ground: his *Crupellarii* were placed in front, his armed cohorts in the wings, and his half-armed bands in the rear. The Romans, attacking them with great impetuosity, were obstructed for a time by the iron-clad soldiers, on whom their spears and swords could make little impression: they

Tac. Ann. iii.
45, 46.

TIBERIUS,
7, 8.
A. D. 21.

therefore assailed them with axes and hatchets, as if they were overthrowing a wall, or they beat them down with poles; and when they were once stretched on the ground, they were unable to make any effort to rise. Sacrovir, seeing the discomfiture of his troops, fled first to Augustodunum, and then to a neighbouring villa, attended with some of his most faithful followers. In this place he fell by his own hand, and his companions by the hands of one another, the bodies of all being consumed in the conflagration of the house.

Dion. lvii.
Tac. Ann. iii.
49—51.

At the end of the year C. Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, who had written an elegy upon Germanicus, and had been rewarded for it by the emperor, was accused of composing a similar poem upon Drusus, who had been ill, and at whose death he expected a still higher recompense of his poetical labours. His vanity had prompted him to recite his poem before a company of illustrious women; and for this offence he was tried in the senate, Haterius Agrippa, who was consul elect, giving his vote that he should be put to death. Marcus Lepidus thought that banishment, and the confiscation of his property, would be sufficient punishment. But he was supported only by one man of consular rank: all the rest having concurred in the opinion of Agrippa, the unfortunate culprit was led to prison and immediately killed. In this atrocious affair, the weak and degraded senators were the sole agents. Tiberius, who was absent from Rome, commended their zeal in revenging even the slightest insults offered to their prince, but deprecated such precipitation in punishing offences of the tongue: while he praised Lepidus, he forbore to censure Agrippa. He caused, however, a law to be made, that the decrees of the senate should not be

enrolled for the space of ten days, and this respite should be granted to persons capitally condemned. Dion says his motive for this regulation was, that he might, though absent from Rome, be acquainted with their decrees, and make what revision he pleased. But, according to Tacitus, he was never softened into mercy by the delay, and the senate had not the power of sparing criminals whom they had once condemned.

TIBERIUS,
7, 8.
A. D. 21.

Luxury at Rome had increased to so immoderate an extent, that the ediles besought the senate to devise some effectual remedies for the evil. The subject was referred by the senators to the decision of Tiberius; but he, reflecting upon the difficulties which surrounded it, and remembering that all former laws had been ineffectual, refused to interfere in a business from which he anticipated more odium than success. Tacitus observes, that the most profuse luxury was practised for the space of a hundred years, from the battle of Actium to the time of the Emperor Galba, and after this it gradually declined. As long as splendour procured respect and distinction, it was sedulously aimed at by the rich and the noble; but when eminence became dangerous to its possessors, they willingly sunk into a less ostentatious mode of living. At the same time men of new families from the colonies and provinces, being enrolled in the senate, observed a stricter economy: but no one was more successful in repressing luxury than the Emperor Vespasian, whose example of frugality operated more powerfully upon the Romans, than all the enactments of the severest laws.

TIBERIUS,
8, 9.
A. D. 21.
Tac. Ann. iii.
52—55.

Tiberius having gained the praise of moderation, and checked the hopes of the informers by his forbearance respecting the sumptuary laws, sent

Tac. Ann. iii.
56. 59.

TIBERIUS, 8, 9.
A. D. 22. letters to the senate requesting the *tribunician power* for his son Drusus. This title, which had been artfully invented by Augustus as less odious than that of king or dictator, conferred the highest dignity and power; and in asking it, Tiberius stated that his son was of the same age as he himself had been, when he received it from Augustus, that his character had been tried for eight years in waging wars and composing seditions, that he had enjoyed a triumph, and been twice honoured with the consulship. The senate granted the title with the most servile adulation; but Drusus, who was in Campania, acknowledged his acceptance of it merely by letter. This was considered by the citizens as an instance of unprecedented arrogance, that after being invested with so high an honour, he did not condescend to visit Rome, and personally thank the senate. With such sentiments (they complained) their future ruler was inspired, and such were the first instructions instilled into him by his father!

Tac. Ann. iii.
60.

It was discovered that asylums were established in the Grecian cities in an unauthorized manner, and that the sanctity of the temples was so much abused, that they became places of refuge for profligate slaves, for debtors, and persons suspected of capital offences. It was ordered, therefore, that the various states should send deputies to Rome, to explain upon what grounds they claimed the privilege of asylum, and the senate was permitted to take cognizance of their rights. Some of the cities voluntarily abandoned the power which they had unjustly assumed; but many sent ambassadors to assert their claims, which rested upon the renown and antiquity of their temples, or upon services performed towards the Roman people. The senate

wearied with the investigation referred it to the consuls, and decrees were at last made in correction of the evils complained of. Suetonius says that Tiberius abolished the privileges of all the asylums which existed; but Tacitus merely relates that he reformed the abuses of those which were in the Grecian cities.

TIBERIUS,
8, 9.
A. D. 22.

Suet. iii. 37.

About the same time the emperor returned with haste to Rome, on account of the severe illness of Augusta. It is uncertain whether the amity between the mother and the son was feigned or sincere; for a short time previous, in the dedication of an image to Augustus, she had placed the name of Tiberius after her own, at which he is supposed to have felt a deep but secret resentment, considering it an affront derogatory to his majesty. Supplications, however, and games were decreed by the senate for her recovery, and in addition to the pontiffs, augurs, and others, the priests who had been instituted in honour of Augustus were to have the superintendence of them. The Romans, once so proud and inflexible, had now degenerated into such pusillanimity, that the senators, of the highest and lowest rank, vied with each other in showing their adulation by the most disgusting and extravagant proposals. It is related that Tiberius, on his leaving the senate house; used to exclaim in Greek, *O men disposed to and ready for slavery!* Even he, who was hostile to the public freedom, was disgusted with their abject servility.

Tac. Ann. iii.
64, 65.

Tacfarinas, though often repulsed, had again recruited his forces in Africa, and sent ambassadors to Tiberius, threatening interminable war, unless he granted settlements to himself and his army. Tiberius is said never to have been more mortified than by this insulting proposal, coming from a deserter

Tac. Ann. iii.
73, 74.

TIBERIUS,
8, 9.
A. D. 22.

and a robber. He therefore commanded Junius Blæsus, who had been appointed proconsul of Africa, to invite his followers to secure their pardon by laying down their arms, but to get possession of the leader himself by any means possible. Many accepted the offers of the proconsul, and he prepared to attack the remainder in a manner most suitable to their rapid and desultory mode of warfare. He separated the Romans into three divisions, so that whenever the enemy appeared, they were encountered by part of his forces, and numbers of them thus surrendered, or were destroyed by him. At the end of the summer he did not withdraw his army, but having built forts in convenient places, continued to harass Tacfarinas with his light troops. At last, after capturing the brother of this chief, he retreated, leaving behind him sufficient enemies to rekindle the war. Tiberius, considering it as finished, allowed him to be saluted *Imperator*, and he was the last private individual who enjoyed that title. He also granted him the triumphal honours, which he said he did for the sake of Sejanus, whose uncle he was.

Tac. Ann. iii.
76.

Junia, the sister of M. Brutus, the wife of C. Cassius, and the niece of Cato, expired this year. She died very wealthy, and her will was the subject of much conversation, because, though she had included in it nearly all the chief men, she had omitted the emperor. He did not resent this neglect, but allowed her a public panegyric, and other funeral honours. The images of twenty illustrious families, the Manlii, Quinctii, and others, were carried before her; but the exclusion of the effigies of Cassius and Brutus caused them to be more thought of than all the rest.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of Sejanus, and his ambitious designs.—He poisons Drusus.—Character of that Prince.—The behaviour of Tiberius becomes more vicious after the death of his son.—An account of his government up to that time, with the number and station of the Roman legions.—Sejanus persecutes Agrippina.—The cities of Asia erect a temple to Tiberius.—Actors expelled from Italy.—The malignity of Tiberius against a certain architect.—His jealousy of Nero and Drusus.—The war in Africa terminated by the death of Tacfarinas.—A servile war suppressed in Italy.—Vibius Senecus accused by his own son.—The informers protected by Tiberius.—Death of Crematius Cordus.—People of Cyzicum deprived of their liberty.—Tiberius will not allow a temple to be erected to him by the people of Spain.—Sejanus, requesting permission to marry Livia, is refused.—Poppæus Sabinus subdues some mountaineers of Thrace.—Discord between Tiberius and Agrippina.—The Emperor leaves Rome and is nearly killed by the fall of a grotto.

TIBERIUS had hitherto enjoyed as much tranquillity as usually falls to the lot of rulers, both in the occurrences of the state, and in the circumstances of his own family; for the death of Germanicus, however afflicting it was to the people, was considered by him as a fortunate event. But in the present year the aspect of his affairs began to be darkened by the turbulent ambition of Ælius

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Tac. Ann. iv. 1.

TIBERIUS,
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A. D. 23.

Sejanus, the præfect of the prætorian guards. This corrupt favourite was born at Volsinium, a town of Etruria, and was the son of Seius Strabo, a Roman knight, who was prætorian præfect under Augustus. He had at first attached himself to Caius Cæsar, the grandson of that emperor, and afterwards gained so great an ascendancy over Tiberius, that while he was gloomy and reserved to others, he was free and undisguised to him alone. His body was strong and active, and his mind bold and enterprising; he had the art of concealing his own faults, and of inveighing against those of others; he could be servile or proud, as the occasion required, and cherished unbounded ambition under an exterior of assumed modesty. In pursuing his plans he would sometimes indulge in prodigality and luxury, but more often relied upon activity and vigilance, which are equally pernicious, when employed for criminal ends.

Tac. Ann. iv. 2.

He increased the authority of the prætorian præfect, by assembling into one camp the guards that had formerly been dispersed throughout the city. He alleged that their union would enable them to act with greater vigour in case of emergencies, and that they would observe a stricter discipline, by being removed from the pleasures of the capital; but his real intentions were, that they should be more subject to his control, should feel a greater confidence in their own strength, and be more formidable to others. A camp being erected for them near the city, he began to insinuate himself into their affections by courtesy and affability, and his power over them was confirmed by having the appointment of the centurions and tribunes. He established his influence in the senate, by procuring honours, and the

government of provinces for his friends: for Tiberius acceded to all his requests, used publicly to style him the associate of his labours, and allowed his image to be worshipped in the theatres, the forums, and the camps of the legions.

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A. D. 23.

Notwithstanding the power which he enjoyed, it was difficult to reach the imperial dignity, while Drusus was alive together with his sons and nephews. His first attempts therefore were directed against Drusus, whom he knew to be jealous of his influence, and who in a certain dissension between them had struck him on the face. Instigated by revenge and ambition, he pretended to be enamoured of Livia, the wife of Drusus and sister of Germanicus; who, after she had yielded to his inclinations, consented (according to the natural progress of crime) to become an accomplice in the death of her husband, with the hope of being united to Sejanus, and sharing with him the sovereign power. Nothing more strongly indicates the infatuation of guilt than to observe this woman, who was of the noblest extraction, debasing herself and family by intrigues with Sejanus, and renouncing the secure and virtuous dignity which she enjoyed, for a situation at once hazardous and criminal. To inspire her with greater confidence, Sejanus dismissed his wife Apicata, who had borne him three children: and as the animosity between himself and Drusus grew more bitter every day, he administered to him a slow poison by means of Lygdus, an eunuch, as was discovered eight years afterwards. Tiberius for a long time supposed that his son had died by sickness arising from intemperance. It was a current rumour among the vulgar, that Sejanus had caused the emperor to believe that his son intended to poison him, and warned

Tac. Ann. iv. 3.

Tac. Ann. iv. 8.

Suet. iii. 62.

Tac. Ann. iv. 10.

TIBERIUS,
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A. D. 23.

him to beware of a drink which should be offered him at an entertainment given by Drusus; that under this false suspicion Tiberius gave the poisoned cup to his son, and when he drank it off in careless ignorance, he ascribed his conduct to compunction and fear. But this story, though propagated among the people, is rejected by Tacitus as neither authentic nor credible.

Dion. lvii.
Tac. Ann. i. 76;
iii. 37.

The character of Drusus was ferocious and wanton. He delighted in the exhibition of blood, and on account of his cruelty the sharpest swords were distinguished by the name of Drusian. He was not only addicted to pleasure, but delighted in riot and excess; though his indulgences of this description were viewed by the people with more complacency than the recluse and austere behaviour of his father. In the midst of his vices he was not devoid of generous sentiments, as he lived on amicable terms with Germanicus, whom he might justly have deemed his rival, and after his death he treated his children with equity, if not with kindness.

Tac. Ann. iv.
8, 9.
Suet. iii. 52.

Tiberius bore the death of his son with an equanimity, that appeared almost to amount to indifference. Before his funeral he entered the senate, and seemed more ready to impart consolation than to receive it; he returned also to his customary course of business with as little delay as possible. The obsequies were conducted with an extraordinary display of images, containing those of Æneas and all the Alban kings, Romulus, the Sabine nobility, Attus Clāusus, and the whole Claudian race. It is related that, the people of Ilium being rather tardy in offering their condolences to Tiberius upon the death of his son, he sarcastically replied, that he also condoled with

them upon the loss of their valiant countryman Hector!

The Roman people felt little regret at the death of Drusus, as they considered that it opened a more favourable prospect for the children of Germanicus. It proved, however, an unfortunate event to the empire, as Tiberius from that time gave a more free indulgence to his vicious inclinations. His government (with a few exceptions) had hitherto been regulated upon the principles of equity. Public affairs, and private ones of an important nature, were submitted to the senators, who had the liberty of expressing their opinions, and if they descended to flattery, he himself would often reprove them. He bestowed the honours of the state upon such as were distinguished for the nobility of their ancestors, for their military services, or their civil virtues; and it was generally allowed that he fixed upon the most eligible candidates. The consuls and the prætors enjoyed their proper dignities: the inferior magistrates also exercised their just authority; and the laws, excepting that of treason, were fairly administered. The public revenues were under the management of companies of Roman knights, while the prince entrusted his own finances to persons of approved merit, most of whom he allowed to grow old in their employments. The people, indeed, were afflicted with scarcity of provisions, but the evil could in no way be imputed to Tiberius, who endeavoured both by his liberality and prudence to relieve the distress arising from unfavourable harvests, or from losses at sea. He was careful that the provinces should not be oppressed with new burdens, and that the old ones should not be rendered more grievous to them by the avarice

TIBERIUS,
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A. D. 23.

Tac. Ann. iv.
12; 5—7.

TIBERIUS,
9, 10.
A. D. 23.

and cruelty of the magistrates. Scourging, therefore, and confiscations were punishments never resorted to. The lands which he himself possessed in Italy were not extensive, his freedmen were few, and his slaves restrained from insolence; and if he had any dispute with private persons, it was settled in the ordinary courts of justice. Such was his line of conduct which, though disfigured by his harsh and ungracious manners, was just and impartial; but after the death of Drusus, a visible alteration took place, as Sejanus had been restrained in his corrupt influence over the emperor by fear of that prince, and was desirous at the beginning of his power to gain popularity by salutary counsels.

Tac. Ann. iv. 5.

The amount of the Roman forces, and their stations at this period, are thus specified by Tacitus. The seas of Italy were guarded by two fleets, one at Misenum, and the other at Ravenna; while the neighbouring coast of Gaul was watched by the vessels which Augustus had taken at the battle of Actium, and had sent with a strong complement of rowers to the town of Forum Julii. The most powerful army was near the Rhine, consisting of eight legions, and serving for protection equally against the Germans and the Gauls. Three legions were stationed in Spain. There were two in Egypt; and, Juba having been appointed king over Mauritania, two to guard the rest of Africa. The Roman conquests in Asia, extending as far as the river Euphrates, were defended by four legions. Two in Pannonia, and two in Moesia afforded protection to the banks of the Danube; there were also two in Dalmatia, whose situation was convenient either for reinforcing the last-mentioned legions, or for carrying succour into Italy. Rome was defended

by three city and nine prætorian cohorts, who were selected principally from Etruria and Umbria, or ancient Latium and the old Roman colonies. The triremes, the cavalry, and infantry of the allies were distributed throughout the provinces in convenient situations. The amount of these often varied, but in general it was nearly equal to that of the Roman forces.

TIBERIUS,
9, 10.
A. D. 23.

Although Drusus had left some children, yet the sons of Germanicus, on account of their superior age, were considered as heirs to the imperial dignity, and in this character they were solemnly recommended by Tiberius to the protection of the senate. Sejanus, exulting in the success of his first crimes, began to deliberate how he should pursue his ambitious projects. As it seemed impossible to poison all the three sons of Germanicus, who were under the protection of faithful guardians, and as the virtue of their mother Agrippina could not be overcome like that of Livia, he was obliged to confine himself to the insidious arts of falsehood and detraction. By his own calumnies and those of his emissaries he provoked the hatred of Tiberius and Augusta against Agrippina; he accused her of pride and contumacy, and of courting popularity in order to second her ambitious views. At the same time the persons around her received encouragement to stimulate her lofty spirit by inflammatory discourses.

Tac. Ann. iv.
8—12.

Lucilius Capito, the procurator of Asia, being accused before the senate by the people of the province, the emperor declared that he had granted him no authority except over his slaves and private finances; that if he had usurped the power of the prætor, or employed a military force, he had acted in contempt of his commands. The cause being

Tac. Ann. iv.
15.

TIBERIUS,
9, 10.
A. D. 23.

tried, Capito was condemned; and the cities of Asia, with servile gratitude, decreed a temple to Tiberius, his mother, and the senate! Permission was given them to erect it.

Tac. Ann. iv.
14.

The conduct of the actors had been so turbulent and flagitious, that the emperor referred the consideration of it to the senate, and they were in consequence expelled from Italy.

Dion. lvii.

Tiberius was actuated with malignant jealousy even against those whose arts and labours it was his duty to foster. An architect (whose name was not allowed to be enrolled in the archives) having very skilfully repaired a great portico at Rome which had fallen on one side, received a pecuniary reward for his services, but was ordered to leave the city. Having afterwards come into the presence of Tiberius to solicit his pardon, he purposely threw down and broke a glass cup, and taking the pieces into his hands, immediately presented it whole again. But for this additional proof of his skill, he was put to death. Pliny says it was believed, that the art of making pliable glass was discovered in the time of Tiberius, but that it was suppressed for fear of destroying the value of gold and other metals. He acknowledges, however, that the report of such a fact was not sufficiently authenticated; and probably the story, which we have related from Dion, has been exaggerated into the marvellous.

Plin. xxxvi.
26.

TIBERIUS,
10, 11.
A. D. 24.

Tac. Ann. iv.
17—20.

In the following year, when the pontiffs offered up prayers for the safety of the prince, they recommended Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, to the protection of the gods. In this action they were impelled by flattery alone, which in corrupt times cannot be safely omitted, but which gives offence by being too open and extravagant. Tibe-

rius, who was never friendly to the family of Germanicus, was incensed at seeing these youths put on a level with himself, and he demanded of the pontiffs, whether they had paid such a tribute to the entreaties or the threats of Agrippina. Having dismissed them with a reproof, he admonished the senate that no one should venture to elate the minds of the young princes by premature honours. For Sejanus inflamed his fears and his anger, by assuring him that the city was divided, as in the time of civil war, that there were those who called themselves of the party of Agrippina, and that it was necessary for the sake of example that one or two of the most eminent of them should be sacrificed. For this reason C. Silius, a friend of Germanicus, and a distinguished general, was accused by the consul Varro; and his voluntary death anticipated the condemnation which he saw was inevitable. His wife Sosia, who was hated by Tiberius because she enjoyed the friendship of Agrippina, was driven into banishment.

TIBERIUS,
10, 11.
A. D. 24.

This year put an end to the long and troublesome war in which the Romans had been engaged with Tacfarinas; for while Tiberius supposed that he was completely subdued, and had therefore recalled the ninth legion from Africa, the Numidian chief continued his aggressions with increased confidence. The proconsul P. Dolabella, notwithstanding the diminution of the Roman forces, compelled Tacfarinas to raise the siege of Thubuscum, and strengthened himself with auxiliaries from Ptolemy, son of Juba, and king of Mauritania. Being afterwards apprised that the Numidians had chosen a position near an old fort called Auzea, he marched against them as quickly as possible, and attacked them at break of day, while they were half asleep,

Tac. Ann. iv.
23—26.

TIBERIUS,
10, 11.
A. D. 24.

and totally unprepared for action. His own men, on the contrary, being ready for engagement, and also eager to revenge themselves on enemies who had so often eluded them, gained a sanguinary victory over the helpless barbarians. Tacfarinas, whose person was well known after so many battles, was made the object of general attack, as it was considered that the war would certainly be renewed, if he should escape. Finding that his guards all around him were destroyed, that his son was taken prisoner, and that he himself was encircled by the Romans, he rushed upon their swords, and escaped captivity by an honourable death.

When Dolabella solicited for the triumphal honours, they were refused him through the interest of Sejanus, lest the services of his uncle Blæsus, who had been rewarded for finishing the war, should appear to be disparaged. The superior achievements of Dolabella, notwithstanding this unjust requital, were manifest to all, as with a less army than Blæsus, he had killed Tacfarinas, carried away some illustrious captives, and really put an end to the war. The Garamantes, who had assisted the Numidians, were obliged to send ambassadors to Rome to make reparation for their offence. The services of Ptolemy were acknowledged by the revival of an ancient Roman custom: a senator was deputed to present to him an ivory sceptre, and an embroidered robe, and to give him the appellation of king, ally, and friend.

Tac. Ann. iv.
27.

In the same summer T. Curtisius, who had formerly been a soldier in a prætorian cohort, endeavoured to excite the slaves to rebel in the south of Italy; and the attempt would have been successful, if three gallies had not accidentally arrived on the coast, the force of which enabled

Curtius Lupus, the quæstor, to suppress the insurrection. The principal conspirators were seized and carried to Rome, where great alarm prevailed, as the number of slaves was increasing to an immense extent, and the free-born population daily grew less.

TIBERIUS,
10, 11.
A. D. 24.

An instance of atrocious depravity was exhibited by a son publicly appearing as the accuser of his own father. Vibius Serenus, proconsul of Spain, who had been banished to the isle of Amorgos, was dragged from his place of exile, and carried in chains before the senate, to answer the charge of his son, who with a deliberate and even cheerful composure accused him of conspiring against the prince. Serenus indignantly repelled the accusation, and invoked vengeance on the head of his guilty son. No unfavourable evidence could be extorted from his slaves, although they were examined by torture; so that the unnatural son, disappointed in his malice, and terrified by the execrations of the multitude, who threatened him with the punishment due to parricides, was compelled to flee from the city. The emperor, however, who cherished a resentment against Serenus on account of a reproachful letter which he had written to him eight years before, obliged him to return and pursue the accusation. Serenus was consequently condemned; but Tiberius, to allay the odium which was excited, interceded for his life, and he was sent back to Amorgos. Cæcilius Cornutus, a man of prætorian rank, who had been accused of being his accomplice, not having courage to contend against the charge, destroyed himself. This gave rise to a proposal, that the rewards which the accusers were in the habit of receiving from the estates of the condemned should not be

Tac. Ann. iv.
28—30.

TIBERIUS,
10, 11.
A. D. 24.

paid when the culprit put an end to his own life. But Tiberius strenuously interfered, declaring that such a plan would endanger the state, and that they had better repeal the laws, than take away the protectors of them. Thus the pestilent race of informers, instead of being restrained by punishments, were allured by rewards to seek opportunities for destroying their fellow-citizens.

Tac. Ann. iv.
31.

Amidst many instances of cruelty Tiberius exhibited an act of mercy in pardoning C. Cominius, who had been convicted of a libel against him, in consequence of the earnest entreaties of his brother. It was a subject, therefore, of greater wonder, that the emperor who knew how to exercise clemency, and was aware of the glory resulting from it, should render himself odious by continual cruelty. Mercy seemed more congenial to him than severity; for it was observed that when he performed a gracious act, his words flowed from him with greater freedom and ease, though in general he was formal and embarrassed in delivering his sentiments.

Tac. Ann. iv.
32, 23.

Tacitus, the historian of this period, laments that he is obliged to relate many things that may appear of an unimportant nature, and so inferior in interest to the splendid wars, and violent seditions, which distinguished the more ancient annals of the Roman people. Each portion, however, of history has its proper use. It is as important to study the progress of a nation's decline, as to survey its rise and aggrandizement; nor will they, who wish to observe human nature in its various aspects, consider that it always exhibits the most interesting appearance in scenes of warfare and tumult. In pursuing his remarks Tacitus observes, that a government combined of the popular, the aristocratical, and the monarchical forms, was something more easily

praised than realized; and that if such an one should ever arise, it was impossible that it should exist long. Experience has fortunately proved the fallacy of this opinion; although it is not surprising that the historian, however sagacious, should doubt the stability of a mode of policy, which he had never contemplated except as a fabric of the imagination.

TIBERIUS,
10, 11.
A. D. 24.

Ten years of the sovereignty of Tiberius having expired, he did not take the trouble of formally renewing it by a decree of the senate; because he had not accepted it (as Augustus always affected to do) for that limited period. Games, however, were exhibited in honour of the event.

Dion. lvii.

Cremutius Cordus, a man of advanced age and upright character, was brought to trial for having extolled M. Brutus in some annals which he had published, and having called C. Cassius the last of the Romans. Such an action as this had never before been imputed to any one as a crime, and the real offence of Cordus was that he had irritated Sejanus by the disgust which he expressed at his extraordinary power. He defended himself against the alleged crime by the example of various writers, and by that of the historian Livy, whose high encomium of Pompey had not been considered as any obstacle to his friendship with Augustus. After leaving the senate he refused to take food, and died of abstinence. His books were ordered to be burned by the ediles; but this circumstance only increased their reputation, and heightened the desire to peruse them. Copies of them were, therefore, secretly preserved by his daughter Marcia, to whom Seneca addresses his treatise upon *Consolation*, and also by other persons. They are now, however, extinct.

TIBERIUS,
11, 12.
A. D. 25.

Dion. lvii.
Senec. ad
Marc. 22.
Tac. Ann. iv.
34, 35.

TIBERIUS.
11, 12.
A. D. 25.

Tac. Ann. iv.
36.

The people of Cyzicum were accused of neglecting the honours due to the deified Augustus, and of having offered violence to some Roman citizens; and for these reasons they were deprived of the liberty which had been bestowed upon them for sustaining a siege against King Mithridates.

Tac. Ann. iv.
37, 38.

About the same time the inhabitants of Further Spain sent ambassadors to the senate, requesting the permission, which had been granted to the cities of Asia, of raising a temple to Tiberius and his mother. The emperor, however, steadily declined such an honour, declaring that though he had yielded to the wishes of the people of Asia, in conformity with the example of Augustus, yet he considered that it would be ostentatious and arrogant to allow the adoration of himself in all the provinces, especially as such a practice would diminish the reverence paid to Augustus: as he was sensible that he was a mortal, and was performing the duties of a man, so he should be satisfied if his name was honoured with the praise and affection of the citizens after his decease. To these prudent sentiments he firmly adhered, even in private conversation expressing a reluctance to receive the divine honours which were impiously offered him. His conduct in this respect was imputed by some persons to modesty, by many to distrust; others considered it as a proof of a pusillanimous spirit, that he did not, like Hercules and Bacchus, or like Romulus and Augustus, aspire to a place among the celestial beings. Such were the reflections of the Romans, at the period of their highest civilization, on a subject connected with the plainest elements of religion!

Tac. Ann. iv.
39.

Sejanus, elated by his extravagant fortune, and incited by the importunities of Livia, the widow of

Drusus, who claimed the fulfilment of the promise which he had given her, wrote to the emperor, beseeching permission to marry her. The arguments by which he hoped to gain the consent of Tiberius were, that Augustus had not disdained to deliberate concerning some Roman knights, as fit persons to be united to his daughter; that his marriage with Livia would check the ambition of Agrippina; and that so high an honour would not tempt him to resign the laborious duties which he was in the habit of discharging for the protection of the emperor. Tiberius, however, replied, that it was impossible that he should remain in his present rank, if he married Livia; and that the animosity of Agrippina would only be inflamed by such an union. At the same time he hinted that he had some distinguished honour in reserve for him, and that there was nothing which his great virtues, and devoted fidelity, did not merit.

TIBERIUS,
11, 12.
A. D. 25.

In the following year the triumphal honours were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus for his victories over some wild mountaineers of Thrace, who had rebelled at seeing the flower of their countrymen destined to increase the strength of the Roman armies. They had been accustomed to pay a very lax obedience even to their kings, nominating their own leaders to the auxiliary troops which they supplied, and not waging war further than against a neighbouring foe. When, therefore, a rumour was propagated that they were about to be mixed with other nations, and dispersed into different lands, they sent ambassadors to the Roman commander, promising obedience if they were not oppressed, but threatening a fierce and sanguinary war, if they were treated like slaves. At the same time they showed him their castles

TIBERIUS,
12, 13.
A. D. 26.
Tac. Ann. iv.
46—51.

TIBERIUS,
12, 13.
A. D. 26.

elevated upon the rocks, to which they had removed their parents and wives for safety.

Sabinus eluded them with gentle answers, until he had time to collect his forces, among which were the auxiliaries of King Rhoemetalcus. He gained but little success in his first attacks, the greater part of his Thracian allies being destroyed through their own remissness. But he gradually inclosed the mountaineers, till he reduced them to the severest extremities: their immense multitudes, confined in a narrow space, were dependent upon a single fountain, so that the scarcity of water became a more formidable evil than the attacks of the besiegers: their horses and beasts of burden perished for want of fodder, and their carcasses were mingled with the dead bodies of men, till the whole place was polluted with bloodshed and infection. Their chiefs were at variance with each other, and proposed different plans for extricating themselves from their dreadful condition. Dinis, one of the eldest of them, declared that there was no resource but to lay down their arms: he therefore surrendered himself, with his wife and children, to the Romans, and his example was followed by those whom age or sex rendered helpless, or who were animated with a greater love of life than of glory. But the younger combatants sided with Tarsa and Turesis, both of whom had resolved to die for their liberty, though in different ways. Tarsa, exclaiming that a speedy termination ought to be put to their hopes and fears, stabbed himself; and some others perished in the same desperate manner. Turesis and his followers resolved to attack the fortifications of the besiegers by night; but, as their intentions were known to the Roman commander, very few were

able to break through his entrenchments: the bravest of them were wounded or slain, and those who survived were finally compelled to surrender.

TIBERIUS,
12, 13.
A. D. 26.

At Rome the animosity between Tiberius and Agrippina grew every day more bitter. Hearing that her cousin, Claudia Pulchra, was accused of adultery, she waited upon Tiberius, who happened to be sacrificing to Augustus; she upbraided him with the inconsistency of offering victims to the late emperor, and persecuting his posterity, declaring that the only crime of Pulchra was an imprudent attachment to her. Tiberius replied by a Greek verse, purporting that she was offended, because she did not enjoy the supreme power. Pulchra and Furnius, her alleged paramour, were condemned. On a subsequent occasion, when Agrippina was ill, and Tiberius came to visit her, she besought him, after shedding many tears, to have compassion on her solitary condition, and grant her the protection of a husband; but he left her without vouchsafing any answer. While she was in a state of grief and irritation, Sejanus sent in his emissaries, who, under pretence of friendship, informed her that there was an intention to poison her, and that she ought to avoid the table of the emperor. As she was impetuous and unused to disguise, she went to an entertainment, and sitting near Tiberius, observed a sullen silence, and refused to partake of any food; until, perceiving her behaviour, he offered her with his own hand some apples that were placed before them. This circumstance confirmed the suspicions that had been instilled into her, and she handed the fruit, without tasting it, to the slaves. Tiberius turning to his mother observed, that it was not surprising if he acted with harshness to a woman who accused him of

Tac. Ann. iv.
52—54.

TIBERIUS,
12, 13.
A. D. 26.

attempts to poison her; and a report was afterwards disseminated, that he intended to destroy her when he could find an opportunity of effecting his purpose secretly.

Tac. Ann. iv.
57—59; 41.
Suet. iii. 39,
40.
Dion. lviii.

Tiberius this year departed into Campania under pretence of dedicating a temple to Jupiter, and another to Augustus, but with a resolution of living at a distance from Rome. Such a plan had long been contemplated by him, and was generally attributed to the suggestions of Sejanus, who considered that the absence of the emperor would greatly augment his power, and allow him to pursue his ambitious plans with less molestation. But as Tiberius continued in his retirement six years after the death of his guilty minister, Tacitus doubts whether it might not have originated in his own wishes, being congenial to his morose and cruel disposition, and to his love of licentious pleasures; for at Rhodes he had been accustomed to avoid society, and indulge his vicious propensities in secret. Some persons imagined that he was ashamed of exhibiting his person, as his figure was very thin, tall, and stooping, his head was bald, and his face disfigured with sores. It was even affirmed that he wished to escape from the arbitrary temper of his mother, with whom he could not endure to share the imperial power, although he was obliged to show some deference to her, as he had gained it by her intrigues. If this, however, had been his principal motive, he would have returned to Rome after her death; but as he never entered the city again during the whole remainder of his life, we may conclude that his absence, from whatever cause it originated, was agreeable to his own inclinations.

He departed from Rome with a very small retinue,

one senator, one knight besides Sejanus, and a few men of liberal attainments, chiefly Greeks, who were to refresh and amuse him by their conversation. The adepts in astrology declared, that he had left the city in such an aspect of the stars that he could never return; and many persons by confiding in this announcement were the authors of their own ruin, as they believed he would soon die, not supposing it possible that he would voluntarily banish himself for a period of eleven years. The vain rumours were increased by the imminent danger which he encountered a few days after his departure. For as he was feasting in a grotto near Terracina, the front of it suddenly fell in, and overwhelmed some of his attendants. The guests were seized with alarm; but while every one else consulted his own safety, Sejanus with his hands and body hung over Tiberius in such a manner, as to protect him from the falling materials, until some soldiers came to their succour. This instance of his attachment (from whatever cause it arose) naturally increased his influence over Tiberius, and however pernicious his counsels were, they appeared to originate from one who was more devoted to his master's safety than his own. The fresh confidence, however, which he enjoyed was abused by him in disparaging and injuring Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, and heir to the imperial dignity.

TIBERIUS,
12, 13.
A. D. 26.

CHAPTER V.

The fall of an amphitheatre at Fidenæ.—Conflagration on Mount Cælius.—Tiberius retires to the island of Cupreæ, and Agrippina and Nero are placed under guards.—Unjust condemnation of Titius Sabinus.—Death of Julia, granddaughter of Augustus.—Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, married to Cn. Domitius.—The Frisii revolt, and defeat the Romans.—Tiberius and Sejanus allow themselves to be seen in Campania.—Death and character of Livia.—Condemnation of Agrippina and her two sons.—The ambitious designs of Sejanus discovered by the Emperor.—They are appointed consuls together.—Death of Nero, son of Germanicus.—Tiberius writes to the Senate against Sejanus, who is sent to prison and executed on the same day.—His children put to death.—His wife, having acquainted Tiberius with the murder of his son Drusus, destroys herself.—Tiberius becomes still more cruel.

TIBERIUS,
13, 14.
A. D. 27.

Tac. Ann. iv.
62, 63.

AN accident occurred this year at Fidenæ, which was as destructive as a sanguinary war, and far more alarming, because it was unexpected. Atilius, a man of low origin, erected an amphitheatre for an exhibition of gladiators; but as his motives were sordid, he built it so imperfectly, that neither the foundation nor superstructure were of sufficient strength. The people of Rome, who had been much restrained in their pleasures by Tiberius, flocked thither in great crowds; and when the

edifice was full, it sank under their weight, overwhelming those who were collected around it, as well as those who were intent upon the spectacle. Fifty thousand persons were killed or injured by this catastrophe, and the fate of such as were immediately destroyed seemed less miserable than that of the wounded and mutilated survivors. Numbers, who were absent themselves, had relations implicated in the calamity, and were condemned to the most torturing anguish, while they searched for parents or brothers, wives or children. The nobles generously opened their houses for the reception of the sufferers, and supplied every thing necessary for the alleviation of their pains; and this, notwithstanding the degeneracy of the times, was a pleasing parallel to the conduct of the ancient Romans, who after great battles used to succour the wounded with liberality and care. Atilius, the author of so much misery, was banished; and a decree was passed, that no one should give an exhibition of gladiators, unless he possessed sufficient property; and that amphitheatres should not be built except upon foundations of undoubted stability.

The memory of this calamity was still fresh, when a violent conflagration broke out at Rome, and destroyed the buildings upon Mount Cælius. The people were beginning to complain that the year was fatal, and that the emperor had departed under unfavourable omens; but he checked their murmurs by a gift of money proportioned to the damage which had been sustained. Thanks were voted him by the senate, and the people rewarded him with their applause, because he had, without solicitation sent for sufferers that were even unknown to him, and assisted them with his liberality. It was resolved that the hill should in future be

TIBERIUS,
13, 14.
A. D. 27.

Tac. Ann. iv.
64, 65.

TIBERIUS,
13, 14.
A. D. 27.

called *Augustus*, because during the general conflagration a statue of the emperor which stood in the house of Junius, a senator, had alone remained uninjured. The ancient name of the hill had been *Querquetulanus*, from the number of oaks growing there; afterwards, it had received the appellation of *Cælius* from Cæles Vibenna, an Etrurian chief, whose followers inhabited the *Tuscan Street*.

Tac. Ann. iv.
67.
Suet. iii. 40.

Tiberius having dedicated a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and to Augustus at Nola, left the continent of Italy and secluded himself in the island of Capreæ, which is distant about three miles from the promontory of Surrentum in Campania. He is supposed to have selected this spot as the place of his retreat, because it was difficult of access, and easily guarded, being surrounded on all sides by steep and lofty rocks. The situation is mild in winter, being protected from the severe winds; but in summer it is cooled by the western breeze and an open sea, and commands a view of the bay of Naples, which before the devastations committed by the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, was more beautiful than it is now. The Teleboans are said to have settled there; but Augustus obtained it from the Neapolitans in exchange for some other territory. In this retreat Tiberius, renouncing his former attention to business, abandoned himself to indolence and the most licentious and detestable pleasures. His fierce cruelty and rash suspicions were fomented by Sejanus still more openly than when he was at Rome; so that Agrippina and Nero were placed under the inspection of guards, and a register was kept of all their words and conduct.

Dion. lii.

Tac. Ann. iv.
67.

Tac. Ann. iv.
68--70.
Dion. lviii.

The beginning of the following year was rendered infamous by the condemnation of Titius Sabinus, an illustrious Roman knight, who had

been the friend of Germanicus, and who continued to his widow and children the same attachment that he had shown them in their prosperity. This constancy, which procured him the applause of the good, rendered him an easy object of attack for the malice of the designing. Four men of prætorian rank, of whom Latinius Latiaris was the principal, concerted a plan for destroying him, with a view of gaining the favour of Sejanus, and being elevated to the consulship. Latiaris, who possessed some intimacy with Sabinus, gradually insinuated himself into his confidence, by commending his fidelity to an afflicted family, by extolling the character of Germanicus, and commiserating the fate of Agrippina. By this apparent union of their sentiments he at last instigated him to indulge in free and unrestrained complaints, to inveigh against the cruelty and ambition of Sejanus, and not even to spare the character of the emperor. Latiaris, having thus induced his victim to confide in him, concealed the three senators, who were his accomplices, between the roof and ceiling of his chamber, where they heard Sabinus give expression to all the angry feelings which his enemy had artfully cherished. They sent letters to Tiberius, disclosing the guilt of Sabinus, and the despicable artifice by which they had become acquainted with it. He was immediately condemned, although it was the first of January, a day of religious solemnity and public rejoicing. As he was dragged to prison he exclaimed against the injustice of his fate, and the tyranny of Sejanus, but wherever he turned his eyes or directed his words, the citizens fled from him, as if he was contaminated; some after fleeing returned, and showed themselves again, being afraid lest the sudden expression of their fears should be

TIBERIUS,

14, 15.

A. D. 28.

TIBERIUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 28.

interpreted into guilt. The minds of all men were naturally filled with alarm and distrust, as they imagined that every acquaintance might be ready to betray them, and that the very walls of their houses might afford concealment to their enemies.

Tac. Ann. iv.
71.

Julia, the grand-daughter of Augustus, died this year in the island of Trimerum, to which she had been banished for adultery. She was supported by the assistance of Augusta, who, after she had secretly subverted the descendants of her husband, ostentatiously showed them compassion in their misfortunes.

Tac. Ann. iv.
75.

Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, was married to Cn. Domitius, who, besides the antiquity of his family, could boast of being related to the Cæsars, as he was the grandson of Octavia, the sister of Augustus.

Tac. Ann. iv.
72—74.

The Frisii, a people beyond the Rhine, were instigated to take up arms, more by the avarice of the Romans, than by any desire of rebellion. Drusus had commanded them to pay a certain number of bulls' hides for their tribute; but as the kind had not been specified, Olennius, the Roman governor, fixed upon those of the best and largest description. This was found, exceedingly burdensome to the Germans, whose herds were not numerous, although their forests abounded with wild beasts. Being compelled to surrender their lands, and to see their wives and children reduced to slavery, they found they had no remedy but in open resistance, and they hung upon gibbets the soldiers who collected the odious tribute. L. Apronius, the proprætor of Lower Germany, collected a very considerable army; but by attacking the insurgents in an ill-concerted manner, and with only part of his forces at a time, he sustained a

disgraceful defeat, which he did not attempt to revenge.

TIBERIUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 28.

The Frisii by this action acquired great renown, and Tiberius chose rather to dissemble the loss which his army had suffered, than to entrust any one with the management of the war. The senators also were regardless of the condition of the distant parts of the empire, as they were trembling for their own safety, which they endeavoured to secure by the most abject flattery. They decreed that an altar should be erected to Clemency, and another to Friendship, and that the images of Cæsar and Sejanus should be placed around them; they also entreated that they would allow themselves to be seen. The emperor and his favourite yielded to this request, and quitted their insular retreat, but did not condescend to go further than the neighbouring coast of Campania. Thither the senators, the knights, and a great part of the people eagerly flocked, being anxious to gain the notice of Sejanus, who was more difficult of access than his master. His arrogance was obviously increased by observing the servile adulation of the citizens, who lay day and night on the plains or on the shore, and were compelled to court the favour or endure the repulses of his door-keepers, in seeking admission to him. When they were ordered to return home, the persons who had not been permitted to see him were filled with dismay; although eventually they were more fortunate than many others, to whom his friendship proved fatal.

In the following year Livia, the wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius, expired, after having attained more than eighty years of age. In the virtue and decorum of her family she endeavoured to imitate the ancient Roman women, but indulged

TIBERIUS,
15, 16.
A. D. 29.
Tac. Ann. v.
1, 2.
Dion. lviij.
Suet. iii.
50, 51.

TIBERIUS,
15, 16.
A. D. 29.

in greater courtesy and affability, than they allowed themselves. She was an easy and obliging wife, but an arbitrary mother, and was well qualified to cope both with the artifices of her husband, and the dissimulation of her son. Tiberius had long been at variance with her; he was angry at her interference in public affairs, was jealous of any honours that were paid to her, and bore with impatience the authority she wished to usurp over him. For the space of three years he saw her but once, and then only for a short time; he did not visit her in her last illness, nor attend her funeral, but allowed her corpse to grow putrid, while his arrival was vainly expected. Her will was disregarded by him, and all her friends and acquaintances became the objects of his persecution. A public panegyric was pronounced over her by C. Cæsar, who was afterwards emperor; but her obsequies were performed with very little splendour, because Tiberius had written to the senate, declining the honours which they had voted her, and commanding them not to deify her, as such (he declared) was her own wish. The senators were desirous to show respect to her memory, because she had often saved the lives of the citizens, had educated many youths, and given dowries to many virgins; so that she did not appear altogether unworthy of the title, which she received, of *Mother of her country*. She is supposed to have been reckless as to what crimes she committed for the sake of aggrandizing herself and family; but in other respects she seems not to have been deficient in generosity and virtue. Her behaviour respecting the conspiracy of Cinna has been already related. On another occasion, when some men were going to be put to death because they had the misfortune to

meet her while they were in a state of nudity, she saved them by observing, that to modest women they would not appear different from statues. This remark would probably carry with it more force in ancient Rome, which was filled with statues, than in modern cities, which are so destitute of such works of art. When she was asked by what means she had gained such an ascendancy over Augustus, she replied, by observing the strictest chastity, by cheerfully performing his commands, but not interfering in his affairs, by not being offended at his amours, not even appearing to be acquainted with them. This declaration clearly shows, that she knew how to suppress all her feelings in subordination to her ambition. After the death of her husband, her name of Livia was merged in those of Julia Augusta.

TIBERIUS,
15, 16.
A. D. 29.

As long as she lived, her authority was considered as some restraint both upon the cruelty of Tiberius, and the ambition of Sejanus. After her death they pursued their inclinations with greater recklessness; and a letter, which was supposed to have been delayed by her influence, was sent to the senate, complaining of the behaviour of Agrippina and Nero. It was written with great asperity, but instead of alleging any political offence, worthy of the cognizance of such an assembly, it accused the mother merely of arrogance and contumacy, and the son of being addicted to juvenile pleasures. The senate received the information in silence and dismay: some of the most servile wished to proceed with severity against the unfortunate victims, but the chief members and the magistrates were filled with anxious suspense, because, though the emperor had inveighed against the accused, he had left his intentions enveloped in uncertainty. The people in the mean time surrounded the senate-house, carrying

Tac. Ann. iv.
3—5.

TIBERIUS,
15, 16.
A. D. 29.

the images of Agrippina and Nero, and declaring that the letter was forged, and that their lives were endangered in opposition to the will of the prince. No sentence, therefore, was passed against them on that day; but when a second letter arrived from Tiberius, complaining of the delay of the senate and the turbulence of the people, they were condemned. Agrippina was banished to the island of Pandataria, on the coast of Campania; and when she could not abstain from reproaches, she was beaten by a centurion, till one of her eyes was knocked out. Nero was sent into the island of Pontia; and Drusus, being involved in the condemnation of his brother, was kept in chains at Rome.

Suet. iii.
53, 54, 65.

TIBERIUS,
16, 17.
A. D. 30.

Dion. lviii.
Suet. iii. 65.
Jos. Ant. xviii.
6.

The power of Sejanus had now increased to such a height, that the Romans began to regard him as their ruler even more than Tiberius himself. This year, however, was fatal to his ambition, as Tiberius discovered his designs, either by his own sagacity and penetration, or by some positive intelligence which he received. If we may credit Josephus, the information was supplied by Antonia, the widow of his brother Drusus, who dispatched her servant Pallas to the island of Capreae, with a full account of the guilty intentions of his favourite. Tiberius, aware of the influence which Sejanus possessed both over the troops and the senate, resorted to his usual expedients of dissimulation and cunning: instead of manifesting any distrust, he appeared to increase his confidence in him, called him his friend and the partner of his labours, and nominated him to the consulship in the ensuing year in conjunction with himself. Deceived by these appearances, the people thought it politic to pay the same honours to one as to the other: it was decreed that they should be appointed consuls together for the space

of five years: and at last sacrifices were offered to the statues of the minister, as well as of the emperor. Among the monstrous follies of idolatry, it deserves to be recorded, that Sejanus used to offer sacrifices *to himself*!

TIBERIUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 30.

Tiberius assumed his fifth and last consulship, and Sejanus, being appointed his colleague, was dismissed by an honourable pretext from the presence of his master, who now both suspected and feared him. Neither of them retained the office beyond the month of May, other consuls, according to the custom of those days, being nominated in their stead. Sejanus for a time was in possession of such absolute power, that he appeared to be emperor, and Tiberius no more than the ruler of a petty island. All the respect and adulation of the Romans were directed to the minister, who exacted them, especially from the nobles, with the rigour of a jealous aspirant claiming honours, to which he is conscious that he is not entitled. Tiberius, anxiously watching his proceedings, perplexed both him and the Roman people by the artifices which he adopted for the purpose of exploring their sentiments. At one time he wrote to Sejanus and the senate, stating that he was ill, and at the point of death; at another time, that he had recovered, and would immediately return to Rome. Sometimes he extolled his minister, and sometimes disparaged him: part of his friends he promoted for his sake, and part he disgraced. By this fluctuating behaviour Sejanus was kept in continual alternation of hope and fear, receiving neither sufficient encouragement, nor sufficient provocation to urge him to the execution of his schemes. The people also, deceived by contradictory accounts, knew not what behaviour they

TIBERIUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 31.
Suet. iii. 26,
65.
Dion. lviii.

TIBERIUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 31.

ought to observe towards Sejanus, nor whether it was right to expect the death of Tiberius, or his arrival in Rome*.

Dion. lviii.

Sejanus was flattered by being elevated to the priesthood in conjunction with the emperor and Caius Caligula, the son of Germanicus: but on the other hand, when he requested permission to go into Campania, he was commanded by Tiberius to stay where he was, as he himself would soon be in Rome. He was also mortified at the praises which the emperor bestowed upon Caius, when he gave him the priesthood, and at the manner in which he almost designated him as his successor. He had encouraged himself with the opinion, that the people would support his pretensions; but he now discovered that they were warmly attached to Caius, on account of the memory of his father, and that they listened with pleasure to the commendations which he received. He began, therefore, to repent that he had not endeavoured to execute his projects, while he was invested with the powers of the consulship.

Suet. iii. 54.
Dion. lviii.

About this time Nero died of hunger in the island of Pontia; although it was the general belief that he destroyed himself, being terrified by the executioner, who pretended to be sent by the authority of the senate, and showed him the appalling instruments of death. In writing upon this subject to the senate, Tiberius gave his minister the mere appellation of Sejanus, which was contrary to his usual style. He also commanded that no sacrifices should be offered to any man, and that

* Dion (lviii.) relates several prodigies which he considers were annunciations of the fall of Sejanus. One of these was, that a couch in the chamber, when he received the salutations of his friends, broke down by the multitude of persons sitting upon it! On another occasion, when he was going out of his house, a *cat* ran through the midst of his attendants!

no honours should be decreed to himself; both of which were considered as oblique prohibitions of the extravagant flattery which was paid to Sejanus. The awe and respect, therefore, which had been shown to his name, began to be impaired, and the numbers of his partisans sensibly diminished.

TIBERIUS,
17, 18
A. D. 31.

Tiberius, conceiving that he might now rely upon the support of the senate and the people, determined to overthrow his obnoxious minister; but in order more effectually to prevent his suspicions, he caused a rumour to be propagated that he intended to invest him with the tribunician power. He secretly bestowed the command of the prætorian guards upon Nævius Sertorius Macro, and instructed him in the manner in which he wished the apprehension of Sejanus to be effected. Macro, concealing the purpose for which he came, entered Rome by night, and communicated the orders that he had received, to Laco, the captain of the night guards, and to Memmius Regulus, one of the consuls; for the other consul was a friend of Sejanus. In the morning he proceeded to the Palatium, where the senators were to meet in the temple of Apollo, and at the entrance he accosted Sejanus, who was dispirited at not receiving any letters from the emperor: but when he was privately informed by Macro, that he was going to be raised to the tribunician power, his spirits revived, and he entered the senate full of the most buoyant expectations. Macro ordered the prætorian troops that accompanied Sejanus to retire to their camp, having first apprized them that he was appointed their præfect, and promised them a donative in the name of the emperor. In their place he posted the night guards round the temple, and, having entered,

Dion. lviii.

TIBERIUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 31.

delivered to the consuls the letter with which he had been entrusted by Tiberius; but he withdrew before it was perused, leaving to Laco the custody of the senate, while he himself hastened to prevent any disturbance in the prætorian camp.

Suet. iii. 65.
Dion. lviii.

The letter of Tiberius was long and pusillanimous, but composed with sufficient dexterity and art. Instead of making any explicit and connected charge against his minister, he began with some irrelevant topic, next inserted a short complaint against Sejanus, then digressed, and afterwards returned to his accusation. At last he commanded that two senators, who were his friends, should be punished, and that he himself should be placed in custody; for though he wished him to be put to death, he did not venture expressly to order it, for fear of exciting a sedition.

When the purport of the letter was understood, the senators, who just before had been obsequiously extolling Sejanus, and expressing their readiness to grant him the tribunician power, were thrown into the greatest confusion and alarm; some of them, who were sitting close to him, rose from their seats, as if it was dangerous to be near the man, whose friendship they had lately courted with the most servile assiduity. The prætors and tribunes of the people surrounded him, that he might not endeavour to escape, and raise a commotion; and it is supposed he would have made the attempt at first, if the accusations against him had not been so artfully arranged, that each by itself appeared too insignificant to portend any danger. Regulus the consul called him by name three times before he made any reply, either because he was astounded at the sudden vicissitude of his fortune, or (accord-

ing to Dion) because he had been long unused to receive the commands of others. At length he arose, and Laco, having entered the temple, placed himself before him. The senators, who had partly recovered from their surprise, began with great vehemence to express their hatred and indignation against him: some were instigated by fear, and others by the injuries which they had suffered from him: some wished to obliterate the memory of their friendship with him, and others were sincerely glad at the overthrow of his power. As, however, he had many relatives and friends in the senate, Regulus did not venture to propose that he should be put to death; he merely took the vote of a single senator for apprehending him, and then, escorted by the other magistrates and by Laco, conducted him to prison.

TIBERIUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 31.

Sejanus now experienced a fatal proof of the instability of human power, and the deceitfulness of that homage which had been paid to him in the height of his grandeur. Although a little before he had been nearly invested with the highest earthly dignity, and had received a species of worship which represented him as equal to a god, he was now carried to prison with every mark of insult and degradation; he was beaten on the head, and the robe with which he endeavoured to hide his confusion, was rudely torn from his face. As the people collected, they upbraided him with the deaths of the innocent persons whom he had destroyed, they ridiculed his ambitious hopes which had been so suddenly frustrated, and at last threw down and broke his statues, which a little before they had worshipped. The senate re-assembled on the same day in the temple of.

TIBERIUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 31.

Senec. de
Tranq. 11.

Tac. Ann. vi.
25.

Dion. lvi.

Concord, near the prison, and, observing the indignation of the people against him, and the tranquillity of the prætorian troops, condemned him to death. The respite, which the laws allowed, was not granted him, but he was immediately executed: his body was cast on the Gemonian steps, and after it had been exposed there for three days to the insults of the people, its mutilated remains were thrown into the Tiber. Such was the fate of Sejanus; but, sudden and extraordinary as it was, it excites but little commiseration, for he was destitute of all great and exalted qualities, he rose to power by the commission of the most base and atrocious crimes, and never employed his authority except for the gratification of his own selfishness and cruelty. His execution took place on the 18th of October*.

Violent disorders were immediately committed in the city. For wherever the people found the partisans of Sejanus, they massacred them; and at the same time the prætorian troops, provoked at being suspected of favouring Sejanus, and at seeing the night guards more trusted than themselves, indulged their anger by pillaging and burning.

The senators, many of whom had been the friends of Sejanus, were now apprehensive for their own safety, and joined in decrees for degrading his name, and execrating his memory. They ordered that no one should be permitted to mourn for him; that a statue of Liberty should be erected in the forum, as if they had been delivered from slavery; and that the day of his death should be celebrated with

* The classical reader will remember the spirited description of the fall of Sejanus in the tenth satire of Juvenal.

annual games. Accusations were made against P. Vitellius for intending to employ the public money, with which he was entrusted, in favour of Sejanus; and against Pomponius Secundus for allowing a friend of the obnoxious minister to take refuge in his gardens. Both were delivered into the custody of their brothers, who were sureties for them. Vitellius, impatient of the suspense and anxiety which he suffered, opened his veins with a penknife and died; but Pomponius, who was distinguished for his poetical genius and his elegant manners, bore his calamity with greater equanimity, and had the good fortune to survive Tiberius.

TIBERIUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 31.

Tac. Ann. v.
8. 9.

It was afterwards resolved that the children of Sejanus should be put to death, although the anger of most persons was by this time sufficiently appeased. His son was conducted to prison fully aware of his fate; but the daughter was too young to apprehend the barbarities which awaited her. Such was the brutality of pagan superstition, that before her death she was violated by the executioner, because it was not deemed lawful that a virgin should be killed in prison! She had been betrothed to the son of Claudius.

Apicata, the divorced wife of Sejanus, was not condemned: but when the unhappy woman heard of the death of her children, and saw their bodies ignominiously exposed, she wrote an account of the way in which Drusus, the son of the emperor, had been poisoned, with the assistance of his wife Livia; and, having dispatched this to Tiberius, she put herself to death. Livia, and all her guilty accomplices, were destroyed by Tiberius. According to some accounts, however, he spared

Dion. lviij.

TIBERIUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 31.

Livia for the sake of her mother, Antonia; but she, enraged at her daughter's atrocities, caused her to die by starvation.

Suet. iii. 65.
Dion. lviil.

Tiberius was so fearful respecting the apprehension of Sejanus, that he kept watch on a very high rock in the island of Capreæ, ordered intelligence to be communicated to him by signals, and had vessels ready for securing his escape, in case he should be compelled to flee. He is even said to have given instructions to Macro that, if a dangerous tumult arose, he should liberate Drusus, who was confined at Rome, and proclaim him emperor. After the destruction of Sejanus, his fear did not immediately subside, but he secluded himself in his villa for nine months. The deputation of senators, knights, and people, which came to congratulate him on the event, was not admitted; and he even refused to see Regulus, although he had requested in his letter, that one of the consuls should be sent to escort him to Rome.

Suet. iii. 61,
62.

Some persons had expected that after the death of Sejanus he would pursue a more mild and equitable mode of government, supposing that many acts of cruelty had been committed without his knowledge, or at the instigation of his minister. But this hope was quite fallacious. His ferocity and revenge were indulged in destroying the friends and acquaintances of Sejanus; and the information which he received respecting the death of his son Drusus gave a fresh impulse to his vindictive feelings. While he was investigating this black transaction, which had been so long concealed from him, a person who had been his friend at Rhodes, and to whom he had given a courteous invitation, had the misfortune to arrive. As soon as he was announced, Tiberius imagining that he was one of

the culprits concerned in the murder, commanded him to be put to the torture; and when the mistake was ascertained, he added wilful injustice to that which had been accidentally inflicted, by ordering him to be killed. A place was shown at Capreæ from which condemned persons, after undergoing long and exquisite torments, were in his presence precipitated into the sea, where they were attacked by a body of mariners, and beaten to pieces with poles and oars.

TIBERIUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 31.

CHAPTER VI.

Tiberius visits the Tiber, and returns to Capreæ.—Submissive conduct of the Senate.—Tiberius avows to them his wretchedness.—Prosecutions at Rome.—M. Terentius acknowledges his friendship with Sejanus, and boldly defends his conduct.—Dearth at Rome.—Marriage of the daughters of Germanicus.—Distress on account of usury.—Deaths of several persons.—Tiberius orders all the supposed friends of Sejanus to be executed.—Deaths of Asinius Gallus, Drusus, Agrippina, Plancina, and Cocceius Nerva.—Marriage of Caius Caesar, and his duplicity.—Prediction concerning Galba.—Thrasyllus the astrologer.—The appearance of a Phoenix.—Deaths of Pomponius Laëbeo and Mamercus Scaurus.—Lentulus Getulicus saves himself by his bold remonstrance.—Deaths of Fulcinius Trio and others.—Artabanus, King of Parthia, seizes Armenia for his eldest son.—Is expelled from his dominions by the Romans and Iberians, but in a short time recovers his kingdom.—His hatred of Tiberius.

TIBERIUS,
18, 19.
A. D. 32.

Tac. Ann. vi. 1.
Suet. iii. 72.

TIBERIUS quitted the island of Capreæ for a time, and coasted along Campania, apparently uncertain whether he should visit Rome or not; or perhaps he was desirous to persuade others that he was coming, merely because he had adopted a contrary resolution. He sailed, however, in a trireme as far as his gardens on the Tiber, having stationed soldiers to protect him from the intrusion of the citizens. He afterwards retired to his rocky soli-

tude, in order to indulge without molestation the fierce and unnatural passions with which he was inflamed. Victims of his lust were sought from the most virtuous and exalted families; and if parents or relatives resisted the aggression, they were doomed to experience every species of ignominy and violence.

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It had been usual when the senators swore fidelity to the emperor on the first of January, for only one of them to pronounce the oath, the others declaring their acquiescence in it; but this year they wished to give a greater proof of their submission, by resolving that every one should take the oath separately. It was also proposed, that whenever the emperor entered the senate, he should be protected by a guard of twenty armed senators; but he was too prudent to put weapons into the hands of men whom he distrusted, and who, notwithstanding their professed devotion, sincerely hated him. Junius Gallio recommended, that the prætorian troops who had served their time should have the privilege of viewing the spectacles in the seats of the knights. This suggestion, by which he had hoped to ingratiate himself with Tiberius, appeared to be an interference with the military, and was so offensive to the emperor that he immediately expelled him from the senate, and afterwards banished him from Italy; but when he found that he had selected Lesbos for the place of his exile, he considered that such a retreat would be too agreeable, and therefore commanded him to return to Rome, and to be placed in the custody of the magistrates.

Dion. lviil.
Tac. Ann. vi.
2, 3.

Among the numerous persons that fell by the attacks of the public accusers, Latinus Latianus, who had been concerned in the infamous plot

Tac. Ann. vi.
4—6.

TIBERIUS,
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against Titius Sabinus, perished without commiseration. Cotta Messalinus, another man of odious character, appealed to the emperor against the charges made by his adversaries. Tiberius in reply acknowledged his friendship with him, and endeavoured to palliate his offences; but at the commencement of his letter he made the following extraordinary confession: "If I know what to write to you, O conscript fathers, or how to write, may the gods and goddesses destroy me with a more miserable death, than that which I feel myself daily undergoing." Thus his fierce crimes had become his tormentors, and were inflicting part of the punishment which was due to his heinous depravity. Justly, therefore, (observes Tacitus) was it affirmed by a renowned teacher* of wisdom, that if the hearts of tyrants could be laid open, they would appear to be lacerated with wounds; for as the flesh of the body is torn by stripes, so the mind is torn by cruelty, licentiousness, and evil projects. The absolute power of Tiberius could not protect him from misery; his solitude could not conceal his wretchedness, nor restrain him from avowing it to those who would most rejoice at the exposure. "

Tac. Ann. vi.
7, 10.

As the emperor was harassed with disquietudes, so were his subjects; for impeachments were daily going forward, and eminent senators engaged in the most degrading accusations, some with open audacity, but more with secret malice. No confidence could be reposed in friends and relatives more than in strangers; old charges and new were equally advanced; conversation upon the most indifferent subjects, in the forum or at the feast, supplied materials for the malignity of informers.

* Plato.

Even women were not exempt from danger, and if they could not be accused of designs against the state, they were accused of shedding tears; and the aged mother of Fufius Geminus was actually killed for lamenting the death of her son. . So numerous were the trials and punishments, that, Tacitus observes, they were omitted by most writers for fear of exhausting the patience of their readers.

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Amidst such prosecutions, while many persons Tac. Ann. vi. 8. endeavoured to save themselves by disclaiming all friendship with Sejanus, a Roman knight, named M. Terentius, boldly avowed the fact when he was accused of it, and made the following defence in the senate:—"Perhaps it may be less advantageous to me to acknowledge the crime alleged against me than to deny it; but whatever the result may be, I will confess that I was a friend of Sejanus, that I courted his friendship, and rejoiced in the acquisition of it. I first beheld him united with his father in the command of the prætorian cohorts, and afterwards discharging equally the civil and military offices of the state. His kindred and relations were invested with honours; every one enjoyed the favour of Cæsar in proportion to his influence with Sejanus, while his adversaries lived in ignominy and fear. Our respect therefore was not paid to Sejanus of Volsinium, but to Sejanus who had allied himself with the Claudian and Julian families, to your expected son-in-law, O Cæsar, to your colleague in the consulship, and the partner of your labours in the administration of the state. It is not our duty to scrutinize the man whom you exalt, nor the reasons for which you exalt him. The gods have granted to you the supreme decision in all things ;

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our glory consists in submission alone. We can observe your overt acts, and notice upon whom you bestow wealth and honours, as you did upon Sejanus; but it is unlawful and hazardous for us to investigate the hidden sentiments and secret determinations of the prince. Do not, O conscript fathers, reflect upon the last day alone of Sejanus's life, but the preceding sixteen years: remember, that we paid homage to his dependents, and deemed it a great distinction to be acquainted with his freedmen and door-keepers. I do not desire that the defence which I have made should be applied indiscriminately to all the friends of Sejanus. Let a just distinction be adopted. Those who have been guilty of plots against the state, or treason against the emperor, ought to be punished; but as to the question of mere friendship with Sejanus, the same sentence which acquits you, O Cæsar, will also acquit us."

Dion. lviil.

The boldness of this harangue, and its exact accordance with the secret sentiments of all who heard it, had so powerful an effect, that the accusers of Terentius, in consideration of their former as well as present offences, were punished with exile or death. L. Sejanus, the prætor, escaped with impunity, although he offered a gratuitous and studied insult to the emperor. For in derision of the baldness of Tiberius, he employed none but bald men at the feast of the Floralia, and the crowds, on leaving the theatre, were lighted by five thousand boys with their heads shaved. Tiberius, with more magnanimity than usually distinguished him, took no notice of this affront; but all bald persons from that time received the appellation of *Sejani*.

Tac. Ann. vi.
13.

A sedition was nearly excited at Rome on

account of the scarcity of corn. The people having for several days clamoured against Tiberius in the theatre, he reproved the magistrates and senators for not checking them by their authority, and he declared that he imported more corn than Augustus, naming the provinces from which it came. A decree of the senate was consequently passed, reprimanding the outrages of the people; but although this was conformable with ancient usage, the citizens complained as if Tiberius had treated them with arrogance, by not addressing them himself.

TIBERIUS,
18, 19.
A. D. 32.

After long deliberation he bestowed the two daughters of Germanicus in marriage, Drusilla on L. Cassius, and Julia on M. Vinicius. The husbands were men of moderate rank and quiet dispositions, and were but slightly commended by Tiberius, when he wrote to the senate respecting their marriage. In the same letter, having assigned some vague reasons for his absence, he complained of the odium to which he was exposed for the sake of the republic, and requested, that as often as he entered the senate-house, Macro the præfect, and a few of the tribunes and centurions, should be admitted with him. The senators readily acquiesced, and even proposed that they themselves should be searched at the doors of the house, lest they should conceal any weapons about them. But all these degrading precautions were unnecessary, as he never entered Rome again.

TIBERIUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 33.
Tac. Ann. vi.
15.
Dion. lvi.

Great alarm and distress arose among the citizens by the practice of usury, which had always been at Rome a cause of discord and sedition, and which, though attempts were made to restrain it by severe laws, had always prevailed through the arts of interested individuals. Tiberius relieved

Tac. Ann. vi.
16, 17.

TIBERIUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 33.

the scarcity of money by depositing a certain sum at the banks, from which persons were allowed to borrow without interest for three years, by giving their estates as security for double the amount.

Tac. Ann. vi.
18, 19.

Although this act seemed to show a certain regard for the welfare of the citizens, yet he continued to destroy their lives with unmitigated cruelty. Pompeia Macrina was sentenced to banishment, after her husband and father-in-law had been killed : her brother and father anticipated their condemnation by putting themselves to death. The alleged crime was, that their ancestor, Theophanes of Mitylene, had been a friend of Pompey the Great, and after his death had received divine honours from the superstition of the Greeks. Although such a crime could not, consistently with justice, be punished by Tiberius, who was himself a worshipper of Augustus, yet it proves to what a dreadful extent idolatry prevailed in the civilized world.

Tac. Ann. vi.
19.
Dion. lvi.

Sextus Marius, one of the richest men of Spain, was accused of committing incest with his daughter, and precipitated from the Tarpeian rock ; but the real causes of his death were supposed to be his care in protecting his daughter from the lust of Tiberius, and his great riches, which became the property of the emperor. Irritated rather than softened by the many punishments which he had inflicted, Tiberius at length ordered that all who were in prison, and were accused of being accomplices of Sejanus, should be put to death. An immense number of persons of both sexes, and of every age and condition, were the victims of this sanguinary edict. Their corpses were scattered in different places, or exposed in heaps. Neither friends nor relatives were permitted to stand by

them, to weep over them, nor even to look at them for any length of time; and guards, who were placed around, carefully noticed the grief of every one, and watched the putrefying bodies, until they were dragged to the Tiber. Even then, as they floated along or were washed to the banks, no one was allowed to pay them funeral rites, nor to touch them. The duties of humanity were suspended by fear, and in proportion as cruelty became common, sympathy and compassion were interdicted.

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19, 20.
A. D. 33.

Asinius Gallus, who had married Vipsania the repudiated wife of Tiberius, and was remarkable for his freedom of speech, expired this year after a tedious confinement. He had been sent in the year 30, on a deputation to the emperor, and had been entertained by him with apparent cordiality: but on the very same day Tiberius, with the basest perfidy, dispatched to the senate a letter which procured his condemnation. He would not allow him the boon of death which he desired, but consigned him to the custody of the magistrates, in order to prolong his misery. This was a species of cruelty which he frequently exercised; and upon one occasion, when mention was made of putting a prisoner to death, he observed with cool malignity, "I am not yet reconciled to him." Gallus, after suffering much ill treatment, died of hunger; but it is uncertain whether or not his death was voluntary. Tiberius allowed him the rites of burial, but lamented that accident had carried him off before he was openly convicted of his crimes; as if a space of three years had not been sufficient for bringing him to trial. He was a man of consular rank, and many of his sons held the same dignity.

Tac. Ann. vi.
23, 24.
Dion. lvi.

Drusus the son of Germanicus was next destroyed,

TIBERIUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 33.
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after undergoing such misery, that he endeavoured to support himself by devouring the flock of his bed. A rumour having been propagated that Tiberius intended to be reconciled to him and his mother, the savage tyrant resolved to show that barbarity was more congenial to him than the tardy justice of repentance. He inveighed bitterly against Drusus even after his death, and ordered that the account which had been kept of his words and actions should be read in the senate. It seemed almost incredibly atrocious that persons should be placed over him for years to observe his looks, and to record his groans and lamentations, and that the emperor should peruse the horrid detail, and publish it to the world. Nor was it a little surprising, that he who had formerly been so cautious in veiling his crimes, should throw open, as it were, the doors of the prison-house, and expose the son of his nephew under the lash of the centurion, the insults of slaves, and the agonies of famine.

Tac. Ann. vi.
25, 26.
Suet. iii. 53.

The horror excited by his death was soon heightened by the intelligence that his mother Agrippina had undergone a similar fate. Either the cruelties which she suffered filled her with desperation, and urged her to refuse all sustenance; or she was deprived of food by the barbarous orders of Tiberius. Suetonius imputes her death to her own unconquerable resolution, and says that violent attempts were made to introduce nourishment into her mouth. Tiberius endeavoured to defame her memory by calumnious charges, alleging that she was guilty of adultery with Asinius Gallus, and that life became irksome to her after his death. But the vices of Agrippina were an impetuosity of spirit, and a love of power, which made her

superior to the ordinary passions of her sex. Tiberius boasted, as an act of clemency, that he had not exposed her body like that of other criminals; and as she died on the same day as Sejanus, it was decreed that a golden offering should be annually presented to Jupiter on the 18th of October. .

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19, 20.
A. D. 33.

Her death, by a strange connection, produced that of her bitter enemy Plancina, the wife of Cn. Piso, and his supposed accomplice in the murder of Germanicus. When her husband fell, her influence with Augusta, and her hostility with Agrippina, concurred to save her life; but when these causes no longer protected her, she was unable to resist her accusers, and perished by her own hand, a victim of tardy justice.

Not long afterwards Cocceius Nerva, an intimate friend of the emperor, resolved to put himself to death. He was a man of eminent skill in the law, and was urged neither by embarrassment in his affairs, nor by illness of his body, to adopt so fatal a determination. When Tiberius heard of his intention, he endeavoured to dissuade him from it, observing that it would be a grievous imputation upon his character, if one of his closest friends should terminate his life without any apparent motive. But Nerva was inflexible, and starved himself to death. It was affirmed by those who were in his confidence, that the prospect of the calamities of the state filled him with so much indignation and alarm, that he resolved, before he was overwhelmed by them, to seek an honourable death.

In this year C. Cæsar, who accompanied Tiberius to Capreæ, and was destined to be his successor, married Claudia the daughter of M. Silanus. Caius had learned to conceal his natural disposition

Tac. Ann. vi.
20—22.

TIBERIUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 33.

under the most specious modesty, and, without showing any displeasure at the cruel treatment of Agrippina and his two brothers, servilely accommodated himself to the inclinations of the emperor. It was considered, therefore, an apt observation of the orator Passienus, that there was never a better servant, nor a worse master.

Servius Galba, who was consul this year, was sent for by the emperor, who, after some conversation, is said to have predicted his future brief eminence by remarking in Greek: "Thou also, O Galba, shalt have a taste of the imperial power." This prescience is ascribed by Tacitus to the emperor's skill in astrology, which he had cultivated at Rhodes, under a master named Thrasyllus, whose knowledge he had subjected to the following test. Whenever he wished to consult any persons upon the secrets of his favourite science, they were admitted to him in the upper part of his house, which was situated on a rock; and upon their return, if they were at all suspected of falsehood or deceit, they were precipitated into the sea. Thrasyllus, when he was introduced to him in this place, promised him the imperial dignity, and made a specious display of his future destiny; upon which Tiberius asked him if he was acquainted with his own lot, and what might befall him on that very day. The astrologer, after consulting the position of the stars, began to show great signs of hesitation and fear, and at last declared that he was threatened with imminent and extreme danger. Tiberius congratulated him on his foreknowledge, and assured him that he was safe; and from that time he admitted him to his friendship, and confided in his predictions as sentences of oracular truth. Although the answers of Thrasyllus in this trans-

action do not display any greater skill, than what a bold and sagacious adept might acquire by natural means; yet Tacitus acknowledges that they perplexed him, and urged him to doubt, whether the affairs of this world are directed by chance or by immutable necessity.

TIBERIUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 33.

In the following year Tacitus relates the appearance of a phoenix in Egypt, although other writers do not place the phenomenon until two years later. This bird, according to the accounts given of it by the ancients, was sacred to the sun; its plumage was partly of a golden colour, and partly red; and in figure and size it chiefly resembled an eagle. It was supposed to live five hundred years, or, according to some reports, more than a thousand; but that bird which had preceded the one seen in the reign of Tiberius had been prior to it less than two hundred and fifty years, and, therefore, it was questioned whether the present could be the real and genuine phoenix. There was but one such prodigy upon the earth at a time; and when the term of its years was completed, it built its nest in its own country of Arabia, and after its death, its successor arose in its place. The first care of the youthful bird was to enter the body of its parent; and when, after proper experiments, it found itself equal to the weight, it carried it, inclosed in myrrh, to the temple of the sun in Egypt. Such are the fictions with which the ancients entertained their fancies respecting this bird: but though Tacitus acknowledges that fables were reported of it, he says, it was not doubted, that it sometimes appeared in Egypt.

TIBERIUS,
20, 21.
A. D. 34.

Tac. Ann. vi.
28.
Herod. ii. 73.

At Rome the decennial games were celebrated, as if for the purpose of renewing the emperor's

Dion. lvi.
Tac. Ann. vi.
20, 30.

TIBERIUS,
20, 21.
A. D. 34.

authority; and the consuls had no sooner presided over them, than they were put to death. * Pomponius Labeo, the governor of Mœsia, being accused of receiving bribes, killed himself by opening his veins, and his wife followed his example. For persons, who saw that their destruction was certain, were anxious to save themselves from the hands of the executioner, and from exposure after death; because if they were condemned, they were deprived of burial, and their property was confiscated; but if they passed sentence upon themselves, their bodies were interred, and their estates descended to their children or heirs. By these rewards Tiberius invited men to execute themselves; as if by such an artifice he himself escaped the odium arising from their deaths.

Mamercus Scaurus, a man of infamous life, but illustrious for his birth and eloquence, was next accused. He had incurred the hatred of Macro, who was usurping, though in a more secret manner, the power which had been possessed by Sejanus; and he also offended Tiberius by a tragedy which he had written under the title of *Atticus*. Parts of the performance were applied by the emperor to himself, who declared that he in revenge would make the author an *Ajax*. Scaurus anticipated his condemnation by a voluntary death, his wife being both his instigator and partner in the deed.

The informers themselves were sometimes overwhelmed in the punishment which they wished to inflict upon others. Abudius Ruso, having accused Lentulus Getulicus, under whom he had held a command in the army, of having intended to marry his daughter to the son of Sejanus, was himself condemned and banished from the city. Getulicus at this time was commander of the legions of Upper

Germany, and had acquired great popularity with the troops on account of his clemency; nor was he devoid of influence in the adjoining province, where his father in law, L. Apronius, was general. In reliance upon this power, it was reported that he sent a letter of remonstrance to Tiberius, declaring that he had sought an affinity with Sejanus, not by his own wish, but by the advice of the emperor; that he was liable to mistake as well as Tiberius, and that the same error ought not to be innoxious to one, and fatal to the other; that his allegiance was unshaken, and would remain so, unless he was attacked; that he should consider the appointment of a successor as a sentence of death; and therefore it would be most prudent for them to stipulate with one another, that while the Prince governed the rest of the empire, he should retain his province. However bold this expostulation appeared, it was believed that Getulicus really made it, because he alone, of all the persons who were allied to Sejanus, remained in safety and favour. Tiberius was probably intimidated, when he reflected upon the feebleness of his old age, and the public hatred which he had incurred; or, perhaps, he only dissembled his anger until he found a more favourable opportunity of indulging it. It is remarkable, however, that Terentius and Getulicus, who manfully resisted his tyranny, experienced a far better fate than others who timidly submitted to it.

Although three years had elapsed since the death of Sejanus, yet Tiberius was neither softened by compassion, nor wearied by satiety, in prosecuting the unfortunate adherents of that minister. Falcius Trio, who had been a friend of Sejanus, and had also ingratiated himself into the favour of the emperor by exercising the office of an informer, killed

TIBERIUS,
20, 21.
A. D. 34.

TIBERIUS,
21, 22.
A. D. 35.
Tac. Ann. vi.
38, 39.
Dion. lvi.

TIBERIUS,
21, 22.
A. D. 35.

himself, when he found that he was doomed to encounter the fury of the accusers. In his will he inserted many bitter invectives against Macro and the emperor's principal freedmen; he also reproached Tiberius himself for the mental imbecility of his old age, and for his continual absence from Rome, amounting almost to exile. When his children were anxious to suppress this document, Tiberius ordered it to be produced, and read in the senate; either wishing to show an affected contempt for any insults that could be offered him, or thinking it better to learn the truth even by the reproaches of his enemies, than to be kept in such ignorance as Sejanus had cast around him. Sextius Paconianus was strangled in prison for some verses which he had composed there in ridicule of the emperor; and some other persons were condemned for treason. Tiberius was no longer in Capræ, but received at a short distance from Rome the account of the cruelties in which he delighted. The death of Poppæus Sabinus was considered happy, as it occurred before he was the victim of any prosecution; although he had been four-and-twenty years governor of the two Moesias and Macedonia, and had enjoyed the consular and triumphal dignities. He was not a man of high origin, nor extraordinary talent; but had maintained himself in the great offices which he held, by being equal to the business of them, and not superior.

Tac. Ann. vi.
31—37.


Ambassadors from the nobles of Parthia arrived at Rome this year, without the knowledge of their king Artabanus. This monarch, being no longer awed by the arms of Germanicus, and despising the indolent feebleness of Tiberius, began to treat the Romans with arrogance, and his own subjects

with cruelty. He was so elated by his victories over surrounding nations, that when the king of Armenia expired, he placed his own eldest son, Arsaces, upon the throne of that country, and claimed from the Romans the ancient dominions of the Persians and Macedonians, which he threatened to seize by conquest. Sinnaces, a man of high rank and wealth, and Abdus an eunuch, formed a conspiracy against him, and urged the nobles to send a secret embassy to Rome. As most of the race of the Arsacidæ had been killed by Artabanus, or had not yet grown up, they besought that Phraates, who had been given as a hostage to Augustus, might be sent to them, alleging that his presence, and the authority of Cæsar, would be sufficient to confound the plans of their tyrannical ruler.

TIBERIUS,
21, 22.
A. D. 35.

The proposal was agreeable to Tiberius, who was accustomed to employ an artful policy in the management of his foreign affairs, and he, therefore, sent Phraates to take possession of his paternal throne. When Artabanus was apprized of the league that was concerted against him, he had recourse to stratagems, which the bold spirit of the barbarians generally rejected as dishonourable; for, having invited Abdus to a feast, he killed him by slow poison, while he dissembled with Sinnaces, giving him presents, and embarrassing him with employments. Phraates, who had been accustomed to the Roman mode of living, died in Syria, by attempting to accommodate himself to the habits of the Parthians. Tiberius, however, selected Tiridates, a member of the same family, to pursue the contest for the Parthian throne: he also engaged Mithridates, brother of Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, to attempt the recovery of Armenia.

L. Vitellius, father of the emperor of that name,

TIBERIUS,
21, 22.
A. D. 35.


having been appointed governor of Syria, was entrusted with the management of all the affairs of the East; and he discharged his duties with great renown, although he disgraced himself by his abject flattery in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius.

Mithridates secured the assistance of his brother; and by their plans the ministers of Arsaces were bribed to destroy him, and the Iberians invading Armenia with a large army, took possession of the city of Artaxata. Artabanus sent his son Orodes, with some Parthian troops, to avenge the death of his brother, and engaged the assistance of a body of Sarmatians. Another portion of this people hired themselves to Pharasmanes, who also procured the succour of the Albanians, and by the situation of his kingdom was enabled to admit his own allies into Armenia, and obstruct all those who came to the aid of the Parthians. Confident, therefore, in the superiority of his forces, he endeavoured to provoke Orodes to battle by riding up to his posts, obstructing his supplies, and almost besieging him in his camp. The Parthians, unaccustomed to such defiance, surrounded their prince, and demanded that he should lead them to action, although all their strength consisted in cavalry. Pharasmanes had a powerful infantry, as the Iberians and Albanians, who claimed their descent from the Thessalians that accompanied Jason into Colchis, were a race of hardy mountaineers. When the engagement commenced, the Parthians, who were equally skilful in attack and in flight, dispersed their troops, and endeavoured to occupy as much ground as possible; but the soldiers of Pharasmanes threw aside their bows, and strove to bring them to a closer combat. The

chiefs of the two armies were every where conspicuous, encouraging their men; and at last Pharasmanes wounded Orodes through his helmet, but, being hurried along by the impetuosity of his horse, was prevented from renewing the blow. Orodes was saved by his guards; but a false rumour of his death terrified the Parthians, and made them relinquish the contest.

TIBERIUS,
21, 22.
A. D. 35.

Artabanus marched with the whole strength of his kingdom to retrieve his disgrace, but the Iberians, being better acquainted with the country, defeated him; at the same time, Vitellius, having collected his legions, and spread a report that he was about to invade Mesopotamia, inspired him with additional alarm. He retired, therefore, from Armenia; and in a short time all his subjects, by the persuasions of Vitellius and the intrigues of Sinnaces, were induced to desert him. He fled with a few foreign guards to the borders of Scythia, hoping to gain assistance from the Hyrcanians and Carmanians, who were bound to him by the ties of affinity, and trusting to the fickleness of the Parthians, whose regard to their princes was always greatest, when they were separated from them.

Vitellius, finding that Artabanus had fled, and that the people were favourably disposed towards their new monarch, escorted Tiridates with a Roman army to the banks of the Euphrates. After some superstitious sacrifices they crossed the river upon a bridge of boats, and were received by Sinnaces, his father Abdageses, and other powerful nobles. Vitellius, thinking it was sufficient merely to have displayed the Roman standard, returned into Syria, after having exhorted Tiridates to remember his benefactors, and the people to reverence

TIBERIUS,
22, 23.
A. D. 36.

Tac. Ann. vi.
41—44.

their king. The Parthians opened their towns to Tiridates, and welcomed him with adulation and joy, hoping that his character, softened by Roman civilization, would exhibit a pleasing contrast to the cruelty of Artabanus. At Ctesiphon, which was the seat of empire, he was invested with the diadem; although some of the most powerful governors of provinces, who had begged for a short delay of the ceremony, were not present. If he had immediately visited the interior of his dominions, he would have received (it is supposed) the submission of the whole nation; but by wasting time in the siege of a fortress, which contained the treasures and concubines of Artabanus, he gave the disaffected an opportunity of withholding their allegiance. Hiero, and other nobles, who had not been present at his coronation, were instigated by fear and jealousy to turn their thoughts to Artabanus, and resolved to attempt his restoration.

They found him in Hyrcania, in a squalid condition, and seeking subsistence by his bow. At first he was alarmed by their appearance, suspecting their designs to be treacherous; but when they assured him that their wish was to restore him to power, he enquired what sudden revolution had occurred in the empire. Hiero complained that Tiridates was a weak youth, softened by foreign luxury, and that while he bore the name of king, all real power was vested in the family of Abdageses. Artabanus, reflecting that men are generally sincere in their hatred, although hypocritical in their love, yielded to their proposals. Having waited merely to collect some Scythian auxiliaries, he marched with great rapidity, in order to anticipate the stratagems of his enemies, and the mutability of his friends: he retained his

sordid appearance, to excite the compassion of the people, and neglected no artifice nor entreaty which could increase and encourage his adherents. He had approached the neighbourhood of Seleucia with a large force, when Tiridates, alarmed and perplexed, was deliberating whether he should march to oppose him, or should endeavour to prolong the war. Although some of his friends advised an immediate attack upon Artabanus, while his followers were weak and disunited; yet Abdageses recommended that they should retreat into Mesopotamia, where they might be safe until they had collected their forces, and the Armenians and Romans took up arms in their behalf. This advice was adopted, both on account of the superior authority of Abdageses and the timid disposition of Tiridates. But during his retreat, the Arabians first deserted him, and afterwards all his other followers returned to their homes, or flocked to the camp of Artabanus; till at last he fled into Syria with such pusillanimity, as acquitted all men from feeling any shame in forsaking him. Thus Artabanus was left in possession of his former dominions. Armenia had been given to Mithridates, the son of the Mithridates before mentioned; but it seems uncertain how long he possessed it. The Parthian monarch entertained such an aversion to Tiberius, that in one of his letters he upbraided him with his indolence, luxury, and cruelty, and advised him by a voluntary death to satisfy the deep and just hatred of the Roman people.

TIBERIUS,
22, 23.
A. D. 36.

Dion. lviil.

Suet. iii. 66.

CHAPTER VII.

The revolt of the Clitæ.—Vibulenus Agrippa poisons himself in the senate.—Tigranes, grandson of Herod the Great, put to death.—His cousin Agrippa cast into prison.—Disgrace of Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa.—Fire on Mount Aventine.—Power of Macro, and his subserviency to Caius Cæsar.—Tiberius deliberates concerning his successor.—Death of L. Arruntius, and of Sex. Papinius.—Illness of Tiberius, who continues his ordinary pleasures, but dies at Misenum.—Various accounts of his death.—Joy of the people.—Character and attainments of Tiberius.—His exterior.—The chief authors of his reign.

TIBERIUS,
22, 23.
A. D. 36.

Tac. Ann. vi.
41.

THE Clitæ, a Cilician people under the sway of King Archelaus, were indignant at being subjected to a census, and tribute to the Roman people, and therefore seceded to the heights of Mount Taurus. The strength of their situation enabled them to resist the unwarlike troops of their king; but some forces that were sent by Vitellius, having enclosed the hills on which the barbarians had pitched, killed those who ventured to sally down, and compelled the rest to surrender from want of water.

Tac. Ann. vi.
40.
Dion. lvi.

At Rome the execution of the citizens had become so common, as to inspire but little horror. It, however, appeared a novelty in the annals of misery, when Vibulenus Agrippa, a Roman knight, after listening to the attacks of his accusers, took

poison from his ring, and drank it in the senate house. When he fell in the agonies of death, the lictors seized him and dragged him to prison; and his body, after he had expired, underwent the process of strangulation.

TIBERIUS,
22, 23.
A. D. 36.

Tigranes, grandson of Herod the Great, and of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, being accused of some offence, was put to death like an ordinary citizen. He had been king of Armenia, but it is uncertain at what time,* and had apostatized from the Jewish religion.

Jos. Ant.
xviii. 5.

Agrippa, another grandson of Herod the Great, was thrown into prison by order of Tiberius. He had been a friend of Drusus, the emperor's son, and after the death of that prince had left Rome in great pecuniary distress, arising from his generous and prodigal disposition. He had returned to Italy this year, and was amicably received by the emperor, who recommended him to attach himself to his grandson Tiberius. But his inclination, or his interest, led him to court rather the friendship of Caius; and one day, when they were riding together in a chariot, he very freely expressed his wish that Tiberius might soon die, and Caius be elevated in his place. This conversation was overheard by Eutychus, Agrippa's freedman, who for a time forbore to divulge it; but afterwards, having stolen some of his master's clothes, he ran away, and being apprehended informed the præfect that he had something to communicate relative to the emperor's life. He was therefore sent bound to Capreæ; but Tiberius, according to his dilatory habits, omitted for some time to investigate the business. Agrippa, little

Jos. Ant.
xviii. 6.

* M. Tillemont thinks that he was probably king of Armenia Minor, which he might have inherited from his grandfather Archelaus.

TIBERIUS,
22, 23.
A. D. 36.

suspecting the danger which was impending over him, was anxious that his freedman should be examined; and after much importunity his request was granted, when the emperor happened to be at Tusculanum. The charge made by Eutychus was believed by Tiberius, and Agrippa was immediately bound and cast into prison. Josephus relates that a German, who saw his degradation, predicted to him that it would soon end, and that he would be elevated to great dignity.

Jos. Ant.
xviii. 4.

The Samaritans, deluded by a certain impostor, intended to hold a meeting on Mount Gerizim; but before they could execute their purpose, Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judæa, attacked them at the village of Tirathaba, slew part of them, and took a great many prisoners, the chief of whom were afterwards executed by him. The Samaritan council complained of this aggression to Vitellius, protesting that their countrymen had no intention to revolt from the Romans, but merely wished to escape the outrages of Pilate. The procurator was in consequence ordered to depart for Rome, to justify himself before the emperor; but he did not arrive there until after the death of Tiberius. He was banished for his offence to Vienne in Gaul, and is said to have perished by his own hand. He had been governor of Judæa about ten years, had been violent and arbitrary in his conduct, and had shown little regard to the religious sentiments of the Jews.

Euseb. ii. 7.

Tac. Ann. vi.
45.

At Rome, part of the circus, and the buildings on Mount Aventine, were destroyed by fire; but Tiberius mitigated the calamity by defraying the cost of the various houses. This generosity appeared the more worthy of praise, as he himself was moderate in his private edifices. Unlike Augustus, he had erected but two public buildings, and these he forbore to dedicate.

Cn. Acerronius and C. Pontius were the last persons invested with the consulship under Tiberius, whose health was now visibly declining. Macro, the prætorian præfect, had by this time acquired an unjust and exorbitant power; and as he had always attached himself to Caius Cæsar, so he now endeavoured to gain his favour with increased assiduity, and by the most base and unnatural arts. Claudia, the wife of Caius, being dead, Macro did not scruple to prostitute his own wife Ennia to the wishes of the young prince. Suetonius relates that Caius himself commenced the intrigue, in order that she might secure for him the assistance of her husband in obtaining the sovereignty; but both he and Tacitus agree, that he promised to marry her, in case he should succeed to the imperial dignity. He was willing to submit to any stipulation for the attainment of his wishes; for though his disposition was naturally open and violent, yet he had learned the arts of falsehood and dissimulation in the society of Tiberius.

TIBERIUS,
23.
A. D. 37.

Suet. iv. 12.

The emperor was not ignorant of the plots that were in agitation, and he was greatly perplexed as to whom he should nominate for his successor. His own grandson, Tiberius Gemellus, seemed to have the principal claim by consanguinity and natural affection; but as he was only about seventeen years of age, he was considered too young to sustain the burden of the empire. Caius was in the flower of youth, and enjoyed the favour of the people; but that very popularity was the cause of the emperor's aversion to him. Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, seemed sufficiently recommended both by his age and by his peaceable character; but the imbecility of his mind was a powerful objection. These were the only persons among his own kindred, from whom Tiberius could

Tac. Ann. vi.
46.

TIBERIUS,
23.
A. D. 37.

choose his successor, and he was unwilling to dishonour the family of the Cæsars by selecting a stranger. Harassed in mind, and enfeebled in body, he at last (according to Tacitus) abstained from making any decision; but he had sufficient discernment to foresee the events which were likely to occur. He openly upbraided Macro for deserting the setting and worshipping the rising sun. When Caius in conversation presumed to deride the character of L. Sylla, he predicted to him that he would exhibit all the vices of that Roman, and none of his virtues. He is said, also, to have embraced his grandson with much apparent grief, and to have observed to Caius, "You will kill this youth, and another will kill you*." Dion relates it as a current report, that he felt a malignant satisfaction in leaving the empire to Caius, because he considered that his own vices would be concealed by the greater enormities of this prince, and that he would destroy the chief of those senators whom he himself had left surviving. But this is similar to the reason which was alleged, why Augustus appointed Tiberius his successor. It is also imputed to Tiberius, that he used to declare that Priam was happy because his whole kingdom was destroyed with him; and that he often uttered an ancient verse†, implying a wish, that at his death the earth might be consumed with fire.

Dion. lviii.

Tac. Ann. vi.
47—49.

In conformity with these inhuman sentiments, he continued his cruelties until the last days of his life. Albucilla, a woman infamous for her amours,

* The story related by Josephus, (Ant. xviii. 6,) that Tiberius determined to leave the empire to whichever of the young princes should make his appearance first on the following morning, does not seem entitled to much credit.

† Ἐμοῦ θανάτος γαῖα μυχθήτω πυρί.

was accused of *impiety* * against the prince, while Cn. Domitius, Vibius Marsus, and L. Arruntius, all men of eminence, were implicated in the crime as her accomplices and adulterers. Macro was supposed to be the chief instigator in this transaction, and to have invented great part of the charges on account of his enmity with Arruntius. Albucilla, after inflicting on herself a wound which was not fatal, was carried to prison by order of the senate. Domitius and Marsus survived the emperor, the former of them gaining time by preparing for his defence, and the other by pretending a resolution to starve himself. But Arruntius, when his friends besought him to practise a similar delay, firmly resisted their entreaties, declaring that he was weary of submitting to the tyranny of such favourites as Sejanus and Macro; and that, even if he should outlive Tiberius, there was no prospect of anything but misery and servitude under a prince like Caius, who had been educated amidst the worst examples, and was guided by the counsels of Macro. With these correct anticipations of the doom which awaited his country, he ordered his veins to be opened, and expired. He is the same man whom Augustus is said to have pronounced worthy of the supreme power, and bold enough to aspire to it, if an opportunity should be offered him.

The death of Sex. Papinius, a man of consular family, disclosed a horrible instance of maternal depravity; for he precipitated himself from some height, in order to escape the solicitations of his mother, who tempted him by luxury and caresses to accede to her incestuous designs. When she was accused of this unnatural crime, she threw

TIBERIUS,
23.
A. D. 37.

* *Defertur impietatis in principem.*

TIBERIUS,
 29.
 A. D. 37.

herself at the knees of the senators and abjectly implored their pity; but she was banished from Rome for ten years, until her younger son had passed the dangerous period of youth.

Tac. Ann. vi.
 50, 51.
 Suet. iii.
 72—76.
 Dion. lviii.

The malady with which Tiberius had been seized (probably at the end of the preceding year) advanced with slow but fatal certainty. He had travelled to a distance of about seven miles from the city, but was deterred from entering its walls, because a favourite serpent, which he used to feed from his own hand, was found destroyed by ants; and this was interpreted as an admonition, that he should not expose himself to the violence of the multitude. On his return he was attacked with a lassitude at Astura, but, having recovered a little, was enabled to proceed to Circeii. Anxious to conceal his infirmity, he was not only present at the exhibition of some games, but hurled javelins at a boar which was let loose in the arena: this effort, however, produced a still more dangerous attack of illness. He was carried as far as Misenum, without evincing any apprehension of death, either because his dissimulation accompanied him to the last, or because he confided in the knowledge of Thrasyllus, who had assured him that he would live ten years longer. The astrologer, however, who died the preceding year, and who is said to have accurately predicted the day and hour of his own dissolution, was either deceived himself, or deceived Tiberius with the humane intention of frustrating his cruelty, and delaying the execution of some criminals. The emperor, therefore, laboured to preserve his usual look and style of conversation, presided at entertainments, and indulged in all his ordinary pleasures. Nor was his ferocity softened; for when he learned that some persons, who had been accused in a trifling and

incidental manner, were dismissed without examination by the senate, he complained that he was treated with contempt, and resolved to return to Capreæ, as a place from which he might safely revenge the insult. He was detained, however, at Misenum by sickness, and by tempestuous weather, and died there soon afterwards in the villa of Lucullus.

TIBERIUS,
23.
A. D. 37.

He had always enjoyed the most vigorous health, and used to deride persons who after thirty years of age consulted others to ascertain what was salutary or injurious to their constitution. Occasionally, however, he resorted to the advice of an eminent physician named Charicles, and this man is said to have adopted the following artifice, in order to learn the real state of his health. Alleging some cause for his departure from the emperor, he took hold of his hand under pretence of kissing it, and contrived to feel his pulse. Tiberius, having discovered his motive, commanded him to stay, and protracted the festivities in which they were engaged beyond their usual length. Charicles, however, assured Macro that his life was fast decaying, and that it could not endure beyond two days; in consequence of which, deliberations were held by the parties present, and messengers were dispatched to the armies. On the 16th of March his respiration appeared to cease, and he was supposed to be dead; so that Caius, amidst the congratulations of his friends, began to assume the imperial functions. Information, however, was suddenly brought, that Tiberius was recovering his senses, and was calling for food. The flatterers of the young prince were seized with consternation, and hastily dispersed themselves, each assuming an appearance of grief, or pretending to be ignorant

TIBERIUS, of what had occurred. Caius, absorbed in silent
 23.
 A. D. 37. fear, expected death as the termination of his late
 glorious hopes : Macro alone remained undaunted,
 and gave orders that a great quantity of clothes
 should be thrown over the emperor, and that every
 one should quit his chamber. In this way (accord-
 ing to Tacitus) Tiberius expired, in the seventy-
 eighth year of his age.

Suet. iii. 73 ;
 iv. 12.

Various reports, however, were propagated, some
 consistent, and others at variance, with the preced-
 ing account. According to the relation of Seneca
 (quoted by Suetonius), when the emperor felt his
 strength departing, he took off his ring and held
 it in his hand for a short time, as if about to
 deliver it to some one ; he afterwards replaced it,
 and lay a long while motionless with his left hand
 compressed ; on a sudden he called for his at-
 tendants, and when no one answered, he rose up,
 and expired at a short distance from his bed.

Other rumours were, that food had been denied
 him ; that Caius had administered to him a slow
 poison ; that he had taken his ring from him, while
 he was still alive, and when he appeared to resist
 had ordered a pillow to be placed over his face,
 and had strangled him with his own hands ; and
 that he commanded a freedman, who expressed his
 abhorrence of the crime, to be immediately cru-
 cified. Suetonius considers this account as not
 improbable ; because some authors related, that
 Caius used constantly to boast, that he once
 entered the chamber of Tiberius, while he was
 asleep, with an intention to kill him, in revenge for
 the death of his mother and brothers, but that
 he was overcome by commiseration, and retired
 without effecting his purpose ; that Tiberius even
 discovered his design, but never ventured to take
 any notice of it. This might, however, have been

an invention of Caius, by which he hoped to gain a little empty glory for his professed resentment at the injuries of his family. Tacitus certainly describes him as submitting to them with the most silent acquiescence.

TIBERIUS,
23.
A. D. 37.
Tac. Ann. vi.
20.

Some writers have placed the death of Tiberius on the 26th of March, although the authority of Tacitus and Suetonius, who relate that he died on the 16th, ought most to be relied upon. He had been in sole possession of the imperial power for a period of twenty-two years, seven months, and some odd days. As soon as his death was announced at Rome, the people began openly to express their hatred against him, some proposing to throw his body into the Tiber, or expose it on the Gemonian steps, others praying to mother Earth and the Manes not to receive him except into the abodes of the impious. For they were exasperated not only by his past cruelties, but by the execution of some criminals on the very day on which the intelligence of his death arrived. When these men implored for mercy, no one, in the absence of Caius, ventured to interpose and save them, but they were strangled, and their bodies treated with the usual barbarities. The people, therefore, execrated Tiberius, as the effects of his cruelty were felt even beyond his death. Some condemned persons, however, were saved, in consequence of the respite of ten days which the law allowed them. The body of Tiberius was carried to Rome by soldiers, and, notwithstanding the threats of the people, was honoured with a public funeral, and burned.

Dion. lvi.
Tac. Ann. vi.
50.
Suet. iii. 75.

Suet. iii. 75.

His character, according to the changes which it underwent at different periods of his life, is accurately discriminated by Tacitus. As long as he was in a private condition, or invested with command under Augustus, he enjoyed a high

Tac. Ann. vi.
51.

TIBERIUS,
23.
A. D. 37.

reputation for his conduct; while Germanicus and Drusus were alive, he was careful to "assume the appearance of virtue; during the existence of his mother his character seemed a mixture of good and vicious qualities; while he was attached to Sejanus, or was fearful of his designs, he exercised the most merciless cruelty, but concealed his infamous lusts; at last, being free from every restraint of shame and fear, and following the bias of his natural inclination, he indulged without disguise all his vindictive and licentious passions. In short, the end of his life was disgraced by the most sanguinary and monstrous crimes; and in his earlier days, when his character was purest, he was sombre, proud, fierce, suspicious, and dissembling.

Suet. iii. 70,
71.

He had cultivated both Latin and Greek literature with great diligence; but he obscured his style by affectation and fastidiousness, so that his extemporaneous productions were reckoned better than his premeditated ones. He composed a lyric poem, of which the title was, *A Lamentation on the Death of Julius Cæsar*; and he was also the author of some Greek poems, in which he proposed Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius as his models. He was so much pleased with these poets, that he deposited their writings, and placed their statues, in the public libraries. His favourite study was fabulous history, and he used to perplex the grammarians, in whose company he delighted, with fruitless questions like the following: Who was the mother of Hecuba? What name did Achilles bear, when he was concealed among the virgins? What were the Sirens accustomed to sing?

Although he was well acquainted with the Greek language, he was sparing in the use of it, and especially in the senate. Once, when he was about to use the word *monopolium*, he asked par-

don for employing a foreign term. When the word *ἑμβλημα* was inscribed in a decree of the senate, he thought that it should be altered, and, if an equivalent one could not be found in the Latin language, that a circumlocution should be used. On this, or on some other occasion, when he was deliberating on the propriety of a certain word, Ateius Capito observed, that if no one else had ever used it, the emperor's authority would be sufficient to give it currency; but Marcellus replied, with much more becoming freedom and truth, that Cæsar was able to incorporate men into the Roman state, but not words.

TIBERIUS,
23.
A. D. 37.

Dion. lvi.

In person, Tiberius exceeded the ordinary stature; he was broad in his shoulders and chest, and of equal proportion in the other parts of his body. He had more strength and agility in his left hand than in his right, and had such hard joints, that he could bore a fresh apple with his finger, and wound the head of a youth with a fillip. His complexion was fair, and his face handsome, except that it was disfigured with a great number of pimples. His eyes were very large, and, though they were weak in the day, had the power of discerning objects in the darkness of night, for a short time after he awoke. He walked with his neck awry, his look was generally rigid, and he seldom deigned to enter into conversation with those who were near him.

The age of Tiberius was not distinguished by many eminent writers. The emperor himself, as we are informed by Suetonius, composed a summary of his own life and actions. Velleius Paterculus, who had been his lieutenant in the Pannonian war, was author of a compendium of Roman history; but a great part of it has perished. His Latin is good and elegant; but in speaking of the characters

Suet. iii. 61.

Voss. Hist. Lat.
i. 24.

TIBERIUS,
23.
A. D. 37.

of his own age, he has disgraced himself by adulation and injustice. . Tiberius and Sejanus are the objects of his highest panegyric, while he endeavours to disparage Germanicus and Agrippina. His work is addressed to M. Vinicius, and comprehends the first sixteen years of Tiberius: if he had written it a little later, he would doubtless have abstained from his praises of Sejanus.

Vell. Pat. ii.
126.

Val. Max. ix.
11.

Valerius Maximus has left nine books of memorable deeds and sayings, which he appears to have published after the death of Sejanus. Although his materials are not uninteresting, yet his style possesses so little merit, that some persons have thought he could hardly have lived in the reign of Tiberius. There is, however, no compulsory law in the republic of learning, that every one who aspires to be a writer in a refined age, should attain beauty and elegance of style. Erasmus observes, that it would scarcely be believed that Valerius was born in Italy; that he might be supposed to be an African; and that he resembles Cicero no more than a mule resembles a man.

Strabo, the author of a valuable work on geography, died at an advanced age, in the reign of Tiberius. He was born at Amasia, a city of Pontus, and wrote in Greek.

Phædrus, who has given an elegant Latin version of the fables of Æsop, also died under Tiberius. He was a native of Thrace, and supposed to be a freedman of Augustus.

Thrasylus, the astrologer, is believed to have written some works on philosophy and poetry. L. Fenestella distinguished himself in history and poetry; but his works, and those of other contemporary authors, have not descended to us.

THE EMPEROR CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR GERMANICUS CALIGULA.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and education of Caius.—He obtains the imperial power to the exclusion of the young Tiberius.—Performs many popular acts.—Assumes the consulship, making his uncle Claudius his colleague.—Honours conferred upon him.—Gives the kingdom of Commagene to Antiochus.—Liberates Agrippa, and makes him King.—Vitellius concludes a favourable treaty with the Parthians.—Caius attacked with illness, after which his conduct becomes altered.—Orders the young Tiberius to be killed, and causes the death of Antonia.—Restores to the people their right of electing the magistrates.—His cruelty in the games.—Puts to death Macro, Ennius, and Silanus.—The death of his sister Drusilla, who is deified.—Caius marries Paulina.—Pretends to be a god, and claims divine worship.—Persecution of the Jews at Alexandria, and banishment of Flaccus the governor.

CAIUS, who succeeded Tiberius in the imperial dignity, was the youngest son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He was born on the 31st of August, in the 12th year of the Christian era, during the

CAIUS,
1.
A. D. 37.
Suet. iv. 7, 8.

CAIUS,
 1.
 A. D. 37.

consulship of his father, and was nearly twenty-five years old at the death of Tiberius. One author relates that he was born at Tibur; but others say, that his birth took place in the camp of the Roman legions in the country of the Treviri. Suetonius, however, declares that he discovered from the public records, that he was born at Antium; that Caius always showed a great preference for this town, and that he was said to have even entertained the intention of making it the seat of empire.

Tac. Ann. i.
 xli.
 Senec. de
 Const. Sap.
 xviii.

If he was not born in the camp, he was soon removed thither, and became a great favourite with the soldiers, whom he flattered by wearing the common military leg-dress, called *caligæ*. From this circumstance he received the appellation of *Caligula*, but he considered it an affront to be addressed by it after he became emperor. The ancients always called him Caius, and although this is not the name by which he is best known in modern times, it seems most proper to adhere to it in the history of his life.

Suet. iv. 10, 11.

He accompanied his father into Syria, and on his return resided with his mother Agrippina until her banishment. He afterwards lived with Augusta, and when she died; with Antonia his grandmother; but in his nineteenth year he was commanded to go to Capreæ, and continued to reside with Tiberius. Artful endeavours were made to urge him to complain of the treatment which himself and relatives experienced; but they were all fruitless, and he showed himself as skilful a dissembler as the emperor himself. But while he assumed the most profound obsequiousness, he exhibited sufficient tokens of a cruel and licentious disposition. These did not escape the penetration of Tiberius, who declared that he was nourishing a

hydra for the Roman people, a Phaethon for the whole world, and that Caius would live for the destruction of himself and all others. The people, however, entertained very different anticipations; for his early popularity in the provinces and the army, and the revered memory of his father Germanicus, inspired all classes with the most earnest desire of seeing him elevated to the dignity of prince.

CAIUS,
1.
A. D. 37.

Suet. iv. 13.

According to Josephus, Caius wrote a letter to the senate, informing them that Tiberius was dead, and that he had succeeded to his power. As he escorted the emperor's body from Misenum, great crowds flocked to meet him, with demonstrations of joy very unsuited to a funeral procession: the altars smoked with victims, and he was addressed with every appellation of the fondest endearment. He had requested from the senate, that the same honours should be paid to Tiberius, as Augustus had received; but as the fathers were doubtful of the real sentiments of the young prince, they deferred the consideration of that question until his arrival at Rome. When he came, he conducted the body into the city by night, and having exposed it in the morning, gave it the mere honours of a public funeral. He pronounced an harangue over it, but as it was difficult to praise the deceased, he expatiated concerning Augustus and Germanicus, and recommended himself to the protection of the people.

Jos. Ant. xviii.
6.

Suet. iv. 13.
Dion. lix.

It appears probable that Tiberius before his death had not openly appointed any one as his successor: but after his decease, his grandson and Caius were found to be nominated joint heirs by his will*. As soon as Caius arrived at Rome, the

Tac. Ann. vi.
40.
Suet. iii. 76;
iv. 14—16.
Dion. lix.

* Dion (lix.) states that Tiberius left the empire to his grandson; but this is inconsistent with the accounts of Tacitus and Suetonius, and with

CAIUS,
^{1.}
 A. D. 37.

senate rescinded this will, and invested him alone with the supreme power. The people rushed into the senate house, participating by their clamours in this unjust decision; and so great was the public joy, that sixty thousand victims are said to have been sacrificed in less than three months. Tiberius had bequeathed legacies to the vestal virgins, to all the soldiers, to the whole Roman people, and some of the magistrates. These were faithfully discharged by Caius, with an augmentation made by himself. He also paid the bequests of Livia Augusta, whose will had been suppressed by Tiberius.

Caius assured the senate and the heads of the people, that he intended to share with them the administration of affairs, and in every respect to comply with their wishes; nor were his actions at first inconsistent with these gracious promises. He refused to receive any of the titles attached to the imperial power, nor would he accept the consulship, which the senate decreed to him, until those who were in possession of it had fulfilled the time originally appointed for them. He liberated all those who were confined in prison, restored the exiles, and abolished suits for treason and libel, which had been so destructive to the happiness of the citizens. As soon as he had performed the obsequies of Tiberius, he set sail for the islands of Pandataria and Pontia, although it was tempestuous weather, in order to collect the

“ what Dion himself has alleged in his preceding book. According to Tacitus, the emperor left the decision respecting his successor to fate, (*fato permisit*;) but Suetonius twice declares that his will appointed the two princes as joint heirs. The historians, perhaps, may be reconciled by the explanation which I have given in the text; and we may also consider that to appoint the two princes as joint heirs was in a manner to leave the decision to fate. The subsequent book of Tacitus, in which probably his meaning was more fully explained, is unfortunately lost.

ashes of his mother and brother. Having himself placed them in urns, he conveyed them to Ostia, and thence to Rome, where they were deposited with great pomp in the mausoleum of Augustus. All the documents relative to the fate of Agrippina and her unhappy sons were carried into the forum, and, Caius having solemnly declared that he had not perused them, they were professedly burned, in order that they might not serve as materials for future informations. As, however, many persons who were implicated in their death were afterwards killed, it was believed that he destroyed merely some copies of the original documents. In honour of his father he called the month of September Germanicus. His grandmother Antonia received by a single decree of the senate all the titles and honours that had been given to Augusta. His three sisters enjoyed the privileges of the vestal virgins, and in vows and public acts were named conjointly with Caius. Thus the following singular form was added to oaths: "I do not hold myself nor my children more dear than Caius and *his sisters*."

CAIUS,
1.
A. D. 37.

The consulship of Cn. Acerronius and C. Pontius having expired in the month of July, Caius consented to undertake the office, and selected his uncle Claudius for his colleague. Claudius, although he was forty-six years old, had hitherto lived in the rank of a knight, and had not been admitted to any honours on account of the imbecility of his character. It is related that the first time he entered the forum with the fasces, an eagle, that was flying by, rested on his right shoulder, which of course was considered as an omen of his future greatness. Caius, in entering upon his consulship, addressed the senate, enumerating the faults which

Suet. v. 7.
Dion. lix.

CAIUS,
1.
A. D. 37.

he reprehended in Tiberius, and making ample promises concerning his own conduct; and for fear that he should deviate from them, the senate ordered that his harangue should be read every year. He afterwards dedicated the temple of Augustus, which Tiberius had left unfinished, and exhibited splendid games, in which it was remarked as a novelty, that the triumphal chariot, in which he was carried, was drawn by six horses. He showed so much interest in the sports, that he commanded the courts of justice to be closed, and was displeased if any one absented himself from the theatre, or quitted it before the spectacles were concluded. The senators, who had hitherto sat on the bare boards, were indulged with the luxury of cushions. After holding the consulship two months and twelve days, Caius resigned it to those who had been previously nominated to the office.

Suet. iv.
15. 16.

Among the instances of popular conduct, which are ascribed to him, it is related that he refused to receive an information, which concerned his own life, declaring that he had done nothing to incur the hostility of any man, and that he would not open his ears to informers. He allowed the works of Cordus Cremutius, and other interdicted writers, to be perused, considering it his interest that nothing should be concealed from posterity. He published the financial accounts of the empire, which, in opposition to the example of Augustus, Tiberius had suppressed. He permitted the authority of the magistrates to be absolute, and not subject to an appeal to himself. He made a strict but not unfair scrutiny into the conduct of the knights, and degraded those who had been guilty of misconduct. He remitted the tax arising from auctions, and displayed many instances of

liberality. These laudable actions were acknowledged by various honours.. A golden shield, which was decreed to him, was to be carried every year into the Capitol by the priests, the senate following the procession, and a company of noble girls and boys singing his praises. It was also ordered that the day on which he succeeded to the imperial power should be called Palilia, which was the name given to the day on which Rome was founded: such a distinction, therefore, implied that he was to be considered as the restorer of the city.

CAIUS,
1.
A. D. 37.

He bestowed upon Antiochus the kingdom of Commagene, which after the death of his father had been added to the Roman dominions; he also gave him some of the maritime parts of Cilicia, and reimbursed him the revenues of his kingdom which had been confiscated. Dion. lix.

Agrippa, the grandson of Herod, who had been imprisoned by Tiberius partly on account of his attachment to Caius, was soon set at liberty. Caius would have restored him his freedom on the same day that he arrived in Rome, if his grandmother Antonia had not represented to him, that such precipitation would be disrespectful to the memory of Tiberius. He waited, therefore, a few days, and then sending for Agrippa placed a diadem upon his head, and bestowed upon him the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias. He also presented to him a gold chain of the same weight as the iron one which he had lately worn. Marullus was appointed procurator of Judæa in the place of Pontius Pilate. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6.

It was probably about the same time that Vitellius, the governor of Syria, made an advantageous treaty for the Romans with Artabanus, the Suot iv. 14.
Dion. lix.
Jos. Ant. xviii. 4.

CAIUS,
1.
A. D. 37.

Parthian monarch.* They met on a bridge, that was constructed over the Euphrates, and Vitellius gained such an ascendancy over the king as to induce him to send his son Darius a hostage to Rome, to pay adoration to the Roman standards, and even to sacrifice to the images of Augustus and Caius. When the terms of peace were arranged, Herod the tetrarch entertained him in a splendid tent, which he had erected upon the bridge, and sent such rapid intelligence to Rome that he anticipated the messengers of Vitellius, who was greatly incensed at his artifice. Many presents were sent with Darius the hostage, and he was accompanied by a Jew, named Eleazar, who was seven cubits high.

Suet. iv. 14, 22.

About the end of October Caius was attacked with a severe illness, which arose from his excessive indulgence in feasting and other pleasures. The grief of the people was so great, that they passed the night in anxious expectation around the palace; some in the fervour of ignorant superstition engaged to fight for his safety, and even vowed to sacrifice their lives for his. After his recovery, his character appeared to have sensibly deteriorated, either from the effects of the malady on his brain, or because he was unable to resist the seductions of absolute power, or because all his virtues had hitherto originated in hypocrisy and fear. Whatever was the real cause of the alteration, he no longer acted with the discretion of a virtuous prince, but with the ferocity of a monster, or the eccentricities of a madman.

Dion. lix.
Suet. iv. 23, 29.

After having refused the titles annexed to the imperial power, he assumed them all in one day,

* Josephus, who is by no means accurate in Roman affairs, places the event under the reign of Tiberius.

except that of Father of the country, and this he did not long decline. He distinguished himself by some new and extraordinary appellations, such as Pious, the Son of the camp, the Father of the armies, and Cæsar Optimus Maximus. Although he had adopted the young Tiberius, and given him the title of Prince of the youth, yet he naturally viewed him with suspicion, as having a better right than himself to the sovereign power. He accused him, therefore, of wishing and expecting his death during his late illness. He also alleged that he had recourse to an antidote (although it was nothing but a remedy for a cough); and in the arrogance of his power he derided the folly of using an antidote against Cæsar! Such a precaution, if it had been employed, was indeed useless, for a military tribune was sent to Tiberius, and destroyed him, while he was little expecting so sanguinary a fate. Many other persons were killed under the same pretence of having desired the emperor's death; and those who had been senseless enough to engage to fight with gladiators, or to slay themselves for his preservation, were compelled to fulfil their promises.

His grandmother Antonia, an illustrious woman who was the daughter of Mark Antony, and the widow of the eldest Drusus, terminated her life, either in consequence of his express command, or of the indignities with which he mortified her: according to the opinion of some, she was destroyed by poison. When she requested a private interview with him, he refused to see her except in the presence of Macro; and on another occasion he silenced the advice which she offered him, by bidding her remember that he had absolute power over all persons. It was the freedom of her re-

CAIUS,
1.
A. D. 37.

CAIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 38.
Dion. lix.

proof, which made her so irksome to him, that he desired her death.

In the following year Caius forbore to take the consulship, but suffered the candidates, who had been previously elected, to hold the office. The senators swore to observe the ordinances of Augustus and Caius; but those of Tiberius were not mentioned, and the same disrespect was shown to them in subsequent ages. Vows were made for the sisters of Caius, as well as Caius himself.

He gratified the people by restoring to them their ancient right of electing the magistrates, of which Tiberius had deprived them, and by abolishing the tax of a hundredth part that was paid upon all vendibles. But these, and some other popular actions, were counterbalanced by striking instances of cruelty and folly. He procured as many combatants as possible for the gladiatorial games, and asked permission from the senate, that they should fight not merely in pairs, but in collected bodies, and in a kind of battle array. Besides numerous other victims, six-and-twenty knights were killed, and it was observed with dismay, that he seemed to feel an extravagant pleasure in the slaughter of men, and never to be satiated with spectacles of blood. When the number of those who were condemned to be destroyed by wild beasts was insufficient, he ordered persons to be seized from the surrounding crowd, and after their tongues had been cut out to prevent their just complaints, they were thrown as a prey to the animals.

Macro, who had been so instrumental in procuring the empire for Caius, was rewarded with the government of Egypt; but before he took possession of his office, he and his wife Ennia became odious to the emperor, and were ordered

to destroy themselves. The Roman people, who knew how greatly Caius was indebted to them, were surprised at their deaths; but as the league between them had been cemented by the most gross and detestable crimes, Caius naturally spurned them, when they were no longer necessary for the execution of his projects.

CAIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 38.

M. Silanus, whose daughter Claudia he had married, (though she did not long survive the union,) deserved a better fate. He was a man of noble birth, and so much honoured even by Tiberius, that he dismissed all appeals that were made from his decisions as a magistrate, thinking it unnecessary to hear them. But Caius was offended with his virtue, and endeavoured in every way to effect his mortification and disgrace. Although the proconsuls of Africa, under the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, possessed the command of the legion and the auxiliary troops stationed there, yet when Silanus held the office, Caius deprived him of his military authority, and transferred it to a lieutenant expressly appointed by himself*. Observing also that Silanus, on account of his age and authority, was generally asked by the consuls to give his opinion first in the senate, he commanded that persons of consular rank, as well as others, should deliver their sentiments according to the order in which they had borne office. After pursuing this system of vexatious insult, Caius one day put to sea in an abrupt and hasty manner; and when Silanus declined following him for fear of illness, the emperor pretended that he staid on shore with the view of gaining possession of the

Tac. Hist. iv.
48.

Dion. lix.

Suet. iv. 23.

* Dion (lix.) relates that this appointment of a lieutenant took place in the following year, when L. Piso was proconsul; but the authority of Tacitus ought to have greater weight.

CAIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 38.

Tac. Vit.
Agric. 4.

Dion. lix.
Suet. iv. 24, 25.

city, in case any accident befell him during the voyage, and for this offence he compelled him to cut his own throat. Julius Græcinus, a man of senatorial rank, and distinguished for his love of eloquence and philosophy, was commanded by Caius to accuse Silanus; and when he would not comply with the unjust demand, he was put to death. He was the father of that Agricola, whom Tacitus has immortalized by writing his life.

Caius ordered many individuals to be put to death, under pretence that they had been concerned in the conspiracy against his parents and brothers, but with the real object of replenishing his treasures, which were exhausted by his boundless extravagance. The death of his sister Drusilla was another cause of disgust and persecution to the Romans." Caius had three sisters, and with all of them it is unequivocally affirmed that he lived in habits of incest. His unnatural attachment to Drusilla was so great, that he took her away from her husband, L. Cassius Longinus, and openly lived with her as if she had been his lawful wife. During his illness, he had nominated her to succeed to the possession of his property, and even to the government of the empire. After her death, which happened this year, she was honoured with a splendid public funeral: it was also ordered that she should be deified, that a golden image of her should be placed in the senate-house, that in the temple of Venus in the forum, a statue of her should be placed of the same size as that of the goddess, and be honoured with the same worship, that she should also have a shrine appropriated to herself, that whenever women gave their testimony, they should swear by her name, and that on her birth-day games

should be celebrated, and an entertainment given to the senators and knights. She was consequently distinguished by the name of Panthea, and received divine honours in all the cities of the empire. One of the senators swore that he saw her ascending into heaven, and mixing with the immortal gods; and for this shameless falsehood he obtained a pecuniary recompense. All persons were greatly perplexed to know what was the exact medium between joy and grief to be observed in their behaviour; for it was equally dangerous not to lament her fate as a mortal, and not to rejoice at it as a goddess. It was a capital offence for any one to laugh, to bathe, or to sup with his wife and children; and a man was put to death for being guilty of the impiety* of selling warm water!

CAIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 38.

Caius, in the first transports of his grief for the loss of Drusilla, suddenly left Rome by night, and having traversed Campania, went to Syracuse; but he soon returned, having allowed his beard and hair to grow. On all subsequent occasions, even in the assembly of the people, and before the soldiers, he never swore by any name but that of Drusilla. It was not long, however, before he married Lollia Paulina, the wife of C. Memmius Regulus, a man of consular rank, and holding a military command in one of the provinces. He happened to hear that her grandmother had been a woman of eminent beauty, and upon this rumour he suddenly sent for Paulina from the province, and compelled her husband to surrender her to him. In a short time he dismissed her, and commanded that she should never be united to any other man. His treatment of Livia Orestilla,

* 'Ὡς ἀσεβήσαντα.—Dion.

CAIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 38.

whom he had married some time previous, had been equally arbitrary. She had been betrothed to C. Piso, but the emperor, who was invited to the nuptial entertainment, ordered her to be conducted to his own home, instead of the lawful bridegroom's. He repudiated her in a few days, and afterwards banished both her and Piso, for resuming their former intimacy.

Suet. iv. 22.
Dion. lix.

Hom. II. ii.
204.

From cruelty and licentiousness Caius proceeded to the most open impiety. When some kings, who had come to Rome to pay their respects to him, happened to dispute at supper concerning the splendour of their families, he exclaimed in the words of Homer, "Let there be one lord, one king;" and in consequence of this sudden caprice, he was very near assuming the diadem, and reducing his government to the form of a monarchy. When, however, he was reminded that his dignity exceeded that of all earthly kings and princes, he was so elated with his grandeur, that he resolved to equal himself to, and to claim the same honours as, the gods of his country. He gave orders that the statues of the heathen deities, which were most remarkable for the beauty of their workmanship, and the homage that was paid to them, should be brought to Rome, and their heads being removed, that his own should be affixed in their place. Having extended part of his palace as far as the forum, he converted the temple of Castor and Pollux into a kind of vestibule, in order, as he said, that the sons of Jupiter might be his door-keepers. He used to place himself between the twin gods to receive the adoration of the Romans, and sometimes he was saluted by the appellation of the Latin Jupiter. He had also a temple dedicated to himself, in which an image of gold was placed, representing

his likeness, and arrayed every day in a dress corresponding to his own. . He had a body of priests, selected from the richest of the citizens, who were obliged to pay for the office, and consider it a very high distinction. Peacocks, and birds of the most rare species, were sacrificed to him every day; and at night, when the moon was full and splendid, he constantly invited her to descend to his embraces. He pretended to confer with Jupiter Capitolinus, sometimes in a whisper, sometimes in a louder tone; nor was the conversation between the rivals always amicable, as he once threatened to banish the god into Greece!

CAIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 38.

Soæmus received this year the government of the Iturean Arabians. Cotys obtained Armenia Minor, and afterwards part of Arabia, relinquishing his Thracian dominions to Rhœmetalces. Polemon was instated in the rule of that part of Pontus which had belonged to his father.

Agrippa, who had been so suddenly raised to the dignity of a king, gained permission from Caius to visit his dominions in Palestine, and resolved to travel thither through Egypt. On his arrival at Alexandria, although he entered the city by night, the splendour of his retinue soon attracted notice, and inspired the inhabitants, who hated the Jews, with sentiments of envy and malice. The governor of the city at that time was Avillius Flaccus, a Roman knight, who under Tiberius had filled the office with considerable distinction. But under Caius his rigour relaxed, and as he was greatly afraid of that prince, he endeavoured to secure the affection of the Alexandrians, and with this view weakly indulged them in their animosity against the Jews. While Flaccus treated Agrippa with marks of friendship and respect, the Alexandrians amused themselves by turning his regal state into ridicule.

Jos. Ant.
xviii. 6.
Phil. in Flacc.
Legat. ad
Caium.

CAIUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 38.

They dressed up a poor idiot in the style of a king, placed a diadem on his head, and pretended to ascribe to him all the pomp and authority of a prince. Perceiving that this insult was tolerated by their governor, they began to show their hostility against all the Jews resident in their city, by proposing to fix statues of the emperor in their oratories, or houses of prayer. They not only effected this malicious project, but set fire to many of their sacred edifices, defaced others, or pulled them down to the ground. Instead of punishing this act of violence, Flaccus, a few days after it was committed, issued an edict, declaring that all the Jews at Alexandria were aliens.

Free licence being granted to the rage of the populace, they began to attack the houses of the Jews, to pillage their merchandize and all other property, to pursue them like wild beasts in every part of the city, scourging, burning, tearing them to pieces, and crucifying them with savage exultation. This persecution lasted about two months; and although at first the emperor was greatly pleased with the intelligence of it, believing that the Alexandrians were actuated by a zeal for his honour, yet afterwards, upon the representations of Agrippa, his anger fell upon Flaccus. For when the king was informed, that an act which the Jews had passed in honour of Caius had never been transmitted by Flaccus, he sent a copy of the document to the emperor, acquainting him with the manner in which it had been delayed. For this neglect the governor was apprehended and banished to the island of Andros, and in the following year when the exiles were put to death by the order of Caius, he perished among the number.

CHAPTER II.

Cruelty and extortion of Caius.—His regard for his horse Incitatus.—Justifies Tiberius before the senate, and revives the actions for treason and libel.—Builds a bridge over the sea from Baia to Puteoli.—Orders the persons, who were in banishment, to be put to death.—Pardons Domitius Afer, and is jealous of the eloquence of Seneca.—Worshipped as a god by L. Vitellius.—Deprives the consuls of their office, and the people of the right of election, and orders the commemoration of the battle of Actium to be abolished.—His ridiculous expedition against the Germans, and his unjust methods of enriching himself.—Puts to death Getulicus and others for an alleged conspiracy, and banishes his sisters.—Repudiates Paulina and marries Cæsonia.—Birth of a daughter, named Julia Drusilla.—The Germans repulsed by Galba.

CAIUS this year assumed his second consulship; and both in entering upon it and in resigning it, he took the usual oaths like a private individual. He held it only for thirty days, but allowed his colleague L. Apronius to remain in office for six months. Savinius Maximus, the prefect of Rome, was substituted in the place of the emperor.

The lives of the citizens were sacrificed with little scruple: many of those who had been liberated from prison were punished for the same offences, for which they had been apprehended by

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

Dion. lix.

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

Suet. iv. 26.
Dion lix.

Tiberius, and many were destroyed by the gladiatorial combats. Gaius no longer courted nor enjoyed the favour of the multitude; but as they thwarted his wishes, so he took every opportunity of showing his resentment against them. The contest, however, was very unequal; for while they manifested their displeasure merely by shouts and gestures, he caused them to be apprehended in the midst of the games, and on their return from the theatres, and had them put to death. Once when he was disturbed by the noise of the people taking possession of the seats in the circus, he ordered them to be driven out by men armed with clubs, and an immense number of persons were killed or injured in the tumult. They incurred his displeasure by not admiring the same performers as he did, and by being lax in their attendance upon the games, although he himself did not observe the appointed hour, and sometimes did not come till night. He was angry also at being styled by them the young Augustus, which he considered to be not so much a congratulation of his good fortune, as a reflection upon his youth. His revenge prompted him to utter the diabolical wish, that the whole Roman people had but one neck, and could be annihilated by a single blow. When they began to exclaim against the informers, he left them in silent indignation, and departed into Campania. He returned, however, on the birth-day of Drusilla, and exhibited splendid games, five hundred bears being killed on one day, and as many wild beasts from Africa on another.

Suet. iv.
33—42.

As his profusion had exhausted his treasures, there was no extortion so violent, and no method of gain so contemptible, that he disdained to resort to it. At sales over which he presided, some

citizens were compelled to purchase so immensely, that they lost all their property, and destroyed themselves. It was a known fact that when Apornius Saturninus, a man of prætorian rank, happened to fall asleep at an auction, Caius ordered that the nodding of his head during his unfortunate slumbers should be considered as a signal of his intention to bid; and when he awoke, he found that he had been made the purchaser of thirteen gladiators at an enormous price. Taxes were laid upon almost every article, and every transaction between man and man; nor did he scruple to open a brothel in the palace, and to derive from it an abominable gain.

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

While he did every thing to show his contempt and abhorrence of human creatures, his regard for his horse Incitatus was so extravagant, that the day before the games of the circus, he appointed soldiers to maintain quiet, and prevent his rest from being disturbed. He used to invite him to supper, setting before him gilded corn, and wine in golden goblets, and to swear by his health and fortune. The animal was provided with a marble stable, an ivory crib, purple coverlets, and a collar of precious stones; besides which he had a house, with furniture and slaves, in order that the persons invited in his name might be splendidly entertained. It was intended even to make him consul, but the emperor's premature death prevented this folly.

Suet. iv. 55.
Dion. lix.

Although Caius had hitherto inveighed against the conduct and principles of Tiberius, and had encouraged others to do the same, yet this year he entered the senate-house for the express purpose of defending his character. He declared that he himself, as emperor, had a right to censure Tiberius,

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

but that the senators had none; because they had been the authors of all the deaths which had taken place, some by becoming accusers, others by giving their testimony, and all by their votes of condemnation. In this charge there was certainly a portion of truth, because if the senators had manfully asserted the rights of justice and humanity, there can be little doubt that they might have awed Tiberius and restrained his cruelties. Caius proceeded to argue that it was impossible for himself to expect anything good from them, and that it would be wiser to command their fear by his severity, than to make a fruitless attempt to win their affection by gentleness. After this speech, which corresponded with a sentiment that was often in his mouth, "Let them hate me provided they fear me," he ordered that the vexatious actions for treason and libel should be revived, and that the law for that purpose should be engraved on a brazen column. He then hastily left the house, and retired to the suburbs. Both the senate and the people were filled with great consternation at the sudden change in the sentiments of their emperor, especially as they had often indulged themselves in free censures of Tiberius. On that day their terror prevented them from adopting any resolution; but on the following, they voted him many praises, as a most just and pious prince, they thanked him for not taking away their lives, resolved to sacrifice to his *clemency* every year, on the anniversary of the day on which he had delivered his humane speech, and decreed him an ovation as if he had gained a victory over his enemies!

Suet. iv. 19.
Dion. lix.

Caius despised these honours as trivial, having projected in his mind a scheme of the most extra-

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

ordinary but useless nature. He resolved to construct a bridge over the sea from Baïæ to Puteoli, a distance of more than three miles; and for this purpose vessels of burden were collected from all quarters, and when these were insufficient, new ones were built. They were stationed at anchor, in a double row, and earth being thrown over them, a road was formed, in which there were places of rest and entertainment, supplied with a flow of fresh water. When the structure was completed, and the day of his amusement arrived, he armed himself with a cuirass, which he alleged to have been Alexander's, wearing over it a superb cloak, adorned with gold and precious stones; he also took a shield and sword, and placed an oaken crown upon his head. Having sacrificed to Neptune, and likewise to Envy (lest his great felicity should be disturbed), he mounted his horse and passed over the bridge from Baïæ to Puteoli, attended by a great company of armed men, and moving quickly as if he was marching against an enemy. He rested at Puteoli, and on the following day re-crossed the bridge in a chariot drawn by horses that had been victorious in the games. Darius the son of the Parthian king went before him, a body of the prætorian guards escorted him, and his friends and companions followed in chariots. In the middle of the bridge a rostrum had been erected, which he ascended in order to harangue his army. After praising himself as the projector of so great an undertaking, he extolled the soldiers on account of the labours and dangers they had encountered, and especially for the wonderful achievement of crossing the sea on foot. He afterwards distributed money among them; and while he himself remained on the bridge, they

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

were stationed in boats moored around him, and spent the remainder of the day and the whole of the night in feasting. Darkness was completely excluded by the number of lights on the bridge, and, on the adjoining shore, which was in the form of a crescent, and glittered like a brilliant theatre. After he had feasted to repletion he amused himself by casting his companions from the bridge into the sea, and by overturning the boats. Some lost their lives by this frolic, but most were saved on account of the calmness of the waters.

Caius was so elated by his performances on the sea, that he boasted that he had terrified Neptune himself; he considered also that he had far surpassed the achievement of Xerxes, who had thrown a bridge over the Hellespont. His rivalry of the Persian monarch was, according to the account of most persons, the principal motive which instigated him to the work; others believed that he wished to frighten the Britons and Germans, whose country he intended to attack, with the fame of some immense undertaking. Suetonius, however, relates, that he had been informed by his grandfather, that the work was caused by the declaration of the astrologer Thrasyllus, who had assured Tiberius that Caius would no more be emperor than he would ride over the bay of Baiæ on horseback. Whatever his motive was, the work originated in caprice and folly, and ended in the most serious injuries to the Romans. For so many vessels were employed upon it, that the importation of corn was neglected, and a grievous famine ensued over all Italy, and especially at Rome; so much money also was lavished, that Caius endeavoured to repair the expense by killing and plundering

Suet. iv. 19.

the citizens. Some were thrown into prison, others precipitated from the Capitol, or compelled to destroy themselves. Even those who were banished did not always save their lives, but were often killed in their place of exile, or on their journey to it. Titius Rufus was accused of saying, that the real sentiments of the senate were different from what they professed, and for this he was obliged to put himself to death. Junius Priscus, a prætor, was killed on the supposition that he was a wealthy man, and when it was discovered that he was not so, Caius observed, "I have been deceived; he might have lived, for his death was fruitless."

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

Dion. lix.

A person who had been exiled by Tiberius, and restored by Caius at the beginning of his reign, being asked by him how he had employed his time during his banishment, replied: "I constantly besought the gods that Tiberius might perish, and that you might succeed to his power." This answer, which was suggested by the adulation or gratitude of the speaker, produced an unhappy effect upon the mind of the emperor; for reflecting that those, whom he had banished, would in like manner be tempted to pray for his dissolution, he sent persons round the various islands to put them all to death. This is the account of Suetonius; but Philo relates, that during one of his sleepless nights he began to reflect upon the condition of the exiles, and imagining that they enjoyed far too much happiness, he ordered the principal of them to be executed. The motives assigned by the two writers for the same deed are not incompatible.

Suet. iv. 28.
Phil. in Flacc.

Domitius Afer, who was an object of the emperor's resentment for having formerly accused the

Dion. lix.

CAIUS,
2, 3,
A. D. 39.

cousin of his mother Agrippina, erected a statue to him, with an inscription declaring that he held his second consulship in the twenty-seventh year of his age. But this attempt to propitiate the tyrant kindled his displeasure, as he conceived that Domitius intended to upbraid him with his youth, and with the violation of the laws, which did not allow a person to become consul at so early an age. Caius, therefore, delivered a long harangue against him in the senate, and as it was his ambition to be accounted the chief orator of his age, so he was particularly anxious to surpass Domitius, who was an eloquent speaker. The accused, being sensible that a competition of skill would be fatal to him, artfully abstained from defending himself, but expressed a profound admiration of the emperor's speech, and falling on the ground supplicated him, as if he stood in much greater awe of his eloquence than his authority. Caius, believing that he had really overpowered him by the force of his oratory, was pacified, and even appointed him to the consulship. When his freedman Callistus, who had befriended Domitius, ventured to blame him for undertaking the accusation, he replied, "It was not proper that such a speech as I delivered should be suppressed."

Dion. lix.

His jealousy of the talents of others was so great, that he nearly killed the philosopher Seneca for no offence whatever, except that he had pleaded a cause in an able manner before the senate. He countermanded the order which he had given for his death, upon the assurance of one of his concubines, that he was afflicted with consumption, and could not live long. He attempted to decry the merits of Seneca, by saying that he wrote mere exercises, and that his style resembled sand without lime.

Suet. iv. 53.

L. Vitellius, who had distinguished himself as governor of Syria, was envied by the emperor for his achievements, and dreaded for his power. He was ordered, therefore, to return from his province, and would have been put to death, if he had not softened Caius by the most base and impious adulation. Having approached him in an humble dress, he fell at his feet, shed tears, saluted and revered him as a god, and vowed, that if his life was saved, he would offer him sacrifices. For this impious adoration, which he was the first of the Romans to practise, he was not only rewarded with his life, but was admitted to the favour and friendship of Caius. On another occasion, when the emperor, who pretended to have an amour with the moon, asked him if he had seen him in the company of that goddess, Vitellius, casting down his eyes, and pretending great awe, replied, "You gods cannot be lawfully seen except by one another." By such conduct, he gained the character of being the most bold and consummate of all flatterers, and disgraced the virtues of his youth by the infamy of his old age.

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

Dion. lix.
Tac. Ann. vi.
32.
Suet. Vitell. 2.

The emperor resolved to deprive the consuls of their office, because they had forgotten to command the observance of his birth-day on the 31st of August, and because they had kept the anniversary of the battle of Actium, in compliance with the established custom. Being the descendant of Mark Antony as well as of Augustus, he was determined to ensnare them in an inextricable dilemma; for, as he intimated to his friends, they were sure to commit an offence, whether they sacrificed on account of Antony's defeat, or forbore to do so on account of his rival's victory. He, therefore, stripped them of their authority on the same day,

Dion. lix.
Suet. iv. 23.

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

and broke their fasces; and one of them was so grieved at this indignity, that he slew himself. For three days there were no consuls at all, but afterwards Domitius Afer was chosen to bear the office, in conjunction with the emperor. Although the right of election had been restored to the people, yet they showed great indifference to the exercise of it. There were seldom more candidates than could be chosen, and if they exceeded that number they adopted some arrangement among themselves, or were nominated by the authority of the emperor. After a time, therefore, Caius took away the shadow of power which he had bestowed upon the people, and suffered the elections to be conducted in the same manner as under Tiberius.

Suet. iv. 23.

He declared that the battle of Actium was calamitous to the Roman people, and ordered that the festival in commemoration of it should be abolished. And in other respects, he showed so little regard for the memory of Augustus, and his own nearest relations, that he alleged his mother to have been the offspring of incest, committed by that prince with his daughter Julia. He would not allow himself to be considered the grandson of Agrippa, on account of his ignoble birth, and was angry if that general was ever mentioned as allied to the family of the Cæsars.

Dion. lix.
Suet. iv.
43—45.

Having wearied and impoverished himself at Rome and in Italy, Caius now resolved to indulge his rapacity and other vices abroad; and for this purpose, when he was reminded of recruiting his Batavian troops, he suddenly declared his intention of attacking the Germans. Immediately the legions and auxiliary forces were called into service, levies were everywhere made with the greatest vigour, and immense supplies of provisions of all

sorts were collected; dancers, gladiators, race-horses, women, and all the other apparatus of luxury, followed in his train. Sometimes his march was performed with so much rapidity, that his guards could scarcely follow him; and at other times he was carried slowly in a litter, having commanded the roads to be swept and watered by the inhabitants of the adjoining cities. When he arrived at the camp, he affected the severity of a strict commander by disgracing the officers, who had been slow in bringing up their troops; he also discharged many of the old centurions, in order to defraud them of the recompense due for their services. Having crossed the Rhine, and advanced a little way, he returned without inflicting the slightest injury upon the enemy; for he was so alarmed for his own safety, that, when his march happened to be obstructed in some defiles, and it was accidentally remarked that there would be great consternation if the barbarians should appear, he immediately mounted his horse, rode back with all his speed to the bridge, and, finding it blocked up, was lifted from man to man, and carried over the heads of the soldiers. The arrival, however, of Adminius, who was son of one of the British princes, and who, having been expelled by his father, came with a small force to offer his submission to Caius, was deemed a glorious event. For, as if he had subjugated the whole island, he sent pompous letters to Rome, strictly charging the couriers to drive into the forum, and not to deliver their despatches to the consuls except in the temple of Mars and in full senate.

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

Suet. iv. 51.

Suet. iv. 44.

As he was afraid to encounter a real enemy, he ordered that some of his German guards should cross the Rhine, and conceal themselves there, and

Suet. iv. 45.

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

that after dinner intelligence should be brought him, that the enemy were approaching. This artifice being put in execution, he sallied forth with his friends, and part of the prætorian guards, into an adjoining wood, where they hewed down some trees, and cut them into the form of trophies. He then returned, and upbraided those who had not followed him with their timidity and sloth, but rewarded the companions of his victory with a new species of crown, marked with figures of the sun, the moon, and the stars. Another of his exploits was, to order some of the hostages to be led out on the road, and then to pursue them with his cavalry, and bring them back loaded with chains, as if they had attempted to escape. After this labour he exhorted his troops, in the words of Virgil *, to practise fortitude, and reserve themselves for more happy times. He published a very severe edict, reproving the senate and the people for indulging in feasts and spectacles, and other pleasures, while their Cæsar was suffering the hardships of war and encountering so many dangers.

Dion. lix.

Such were the achievements of a Roman emperor, with an army amounting to two hundred thousand, or, according to some accounts, to two hundred and fifty thousand men; and for these he was seven times saluted *Imperator*, although no engagement was fought, and none of the enemy were killed! His actual successes over the barbarians amounted to no more than the capture of a few of them by stratagem. But the spoils which he failed to gain from them, were extorted from his wretched subjects and allies. All that were rich were plundered upon the slightest pretence,

* Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.—Æn. i. 207.

and cities and individuals were compelled to offer him immense presents: some persons were accused of revolutionary designs, others of plots against his life, although their real offence was that they were in possession of wealth which he coveted. The sale of their property was another source of gain to him, as purchasers were constrained to buy it at a sum far exceeding its value. His success induced him to send for the most precious articles in the imperial treasury, and to put them to sale, announcing their value by such recommendations as the following: "This belonged to my father, this to my mother, this was used by Antony in Egypt, this was won in battle by Augustus." Sometimes he employed more expeditious ways of enriching himself; for once when he was playing at dice, and was in want of money, he called for the register of the property of the Gauls, and having ordered the most wealthy persons on the list to be put to death, he returned to his companions, boasting what an immense sum he had gained, while they were playing for trifles. His cruelty to his soldiers was as great as his rapacity to his allies; for he was not satisfied with putting them to death singly, but destroyed them by whole companies, without deigning to investigate their separate offences.

A conspiracy, real or imaginary, furnished occasion for shedding the blood of the citizens. Lentulus Getulicus and M. Lepidus were the most eminent persons implicated in it. The former had held the command of the legions in Germany for a period of ten years, and in this situation had almost set Tiberius at defiance; but he was now put to death for no other offence, according to Dion, than that he had won the

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

Tac. Ann vi.
30.
Dion. lix.

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

attachment of the soldiers. Lepidus is supposed to have been the cousin of the emperor, and enjoyed such favour with him, that he had married his late sister Drusilla, and also carried on infamous intrigues with his other sisters Agrippina and Livilla. Caius had allowed him to bear the magistracies five years before the legal age, and had even promised to make him his successor; but he now ordered him to be killed, and, in consequence of the detection of the conspiracy, bestowed a largess upon the soldiers, and sent to Rome three daggers to be consecrated to Mars the Avenger. He accused his sisters, Agrippina and Livilla, of being concerned in the plot, and charged them with their criminal amours, although he himself had laboured to debase them, and extinguish in their bosoms every sentiment of chastity and honour. They were banished to the isle of Pontia, with an intimation that the emperor had swords as well as islands under his command. He ordered that Agrippina should carry all the way to Rome an urn containing the ashes of Lepidus; and to discountenance the honours which had been paid to his sisters in deference to his own example, he forbade that any distinction should in future be shown to his relatives. He sold the ornaments, furniture, slaves, and even freedmen of his sisters, at an immense price; and it was after this (according to Suetonius) that he sent for the treasures of his own palace, with the view of profiting by their sale. The conveyance of them employed so many beasts of burden, that there did not remain sufficient to work the mills, and furnish the ordinary supply of bread at Rome.

Suet. iv.
24, 29.

Dion. lix.

Suet. iv. 39.

Suet. v. 9.
Dion. lix.

When the senate was informed by the emperor of the alleged conspiracy, they decreed him an

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

ovation, and despatched an embassy to congratulate him on the danger which he had escaped. His uncle Claudius was nominated one of the ambassadors; but this selection displeased Caius, who imagined that he was sent as a kind of guardian and monitor; and therefore (according to some accounts) he ordered him on his arrival to be precipitated into the river. He treated the other deputies as spies, and would admit but few of them into his presence, commanding the rest to return, before they had entered Gaul. As he complained that the deputation was too small, a larger one was afterwards sent, and had the good fortune to be favourably received by him. For he was exceedingly fastidious respecting the honours which were decreed to him: if they were small, he despised them; and if they were great, he was angry that the senate should pretend to have the power of exalting his dignity.

Many persons were brought to trial at Rome in consequence of their friendship with the emperor's sisters, or with the conspirators who had been put to death; and even some of the ediles and prætors were obliged to resign their office, and appear among the accused. The citizens naturally apprehended that the cruelty and folly of Caius would be inflamed to a still greater height, especially as they knew that he was accompanied by the kings Agrippa and Antiochus, whom they considered to be teachers and abettors of tyranny. Among other afflictions at Rome, the heat was so oppressive, that it became necessary to extend awnings over the forum.

Caius having become weary of his wife Paulina, repudiated her, and married Milonia Cæsonia, with whom he had been living in habits of adultery.

Dion. lix.
Suet. iv.
25, 50.

CAIUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 39.

She was a woman of a most luxurious and dissolute character, but remarkable neither for her youth nor beauty, and had been the mother of three daughters by a former husband. Caius, however, loved her with greater ardour and constancy than his other wives, and used to exhibit her to the soldiers arrayed in a military garb, with buckler and helmet. The Romans believed that she had administered to him a love potion, which had the effect of inflaming him to madness. Thirty days after she was declared his wife, (or, according to Suetonius, on the very same day), she was delivered of a daughter, who was called Julia Drusilla. Caius, carrying her round the temples of all the goddesses, placed her in the bosom, and commended her to the care, of Minerva. The infant exhibited early symptoms of cruelty, which were deemed no slight evidences of the blood from which she was sprung.

Suet. vii. 6.

The Germans, in revenge probably for the projected invasion of their own country, made an irruption into Gaul; but Galba (who was afterwards emperor), having succeeded to the command of the légions in the place of Getulicus, promptly repulsed them, and both he and his army were rewarded with great honours.

CHAPTER III.

Caius receives new-year's gifts, and exhibits games at Lyons.—Rome without any Consul.—Death of King Ptolemy.—The Emperor's pretended invasion of Britain.—Wishes to slaughter part of his legions, and returns to Rome greatly incensed.—Persists in his pretensions to divinity.—Orders his statue to be placed in the Temple of Jerusalem, but is firmly resisted by the Jews.—King Agrippa intercedes for them.—Embassy of Philo.—Chærea, Sabinus and others conspire against the Emperor, and assassinate him as he returns from the theatre.—The burial of Caius.—His person, and probable insanity.—His arrogance and luxury.—His style of dress and eloquence.—His fondness for singing and dancing, and his attachment to actors.—The works which he undertook or projected.

AT the beginning of the year Caius was the only consul, as his intended colleague had died, and there had not been sufficient time to nominate any one in his place. Caius was at Lyons, and on the first day of January he placed himself in the vestibule of his house to receive the presents, which all classes were constrained to offer him. These new-year's gifts had been accepted by Augustus himself; but Caius after the birth of his daughter complained that he had the expenses of a father as well as an emperor to support, and demanded contributions for the education and dowry of the child.

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

Dion. lix.
Suet. iv.
17, 20, 42.

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

He was at last seized with so extravagant a love of money, that he used to walk with naked feet, and sometimes roll himself, over the heaps of gold which he had accumulated.

He exhibited various games at Lyons, and also contests of eloquence in the Greek and Latin languages. The persons who were defeated in these intellectual trials were condemned to supply prizes for the victors, and also to compose their eulogies. If their performances were extraordinarily bad, they were ordered to efface them with a sponge or with their tongue, unless they submitted to be caned, or to be plunged in the adjoining river.*

At Rome considerable perplexity was occasioned by the want of consuls; for the prætors, whose duty it was to discharge their functions, were afraid to undertake them, lest they should appear to encroach upon the authority of the emperor. The senators, however, having ascended to the Capitol, offered up sacrifices, paid their adoration to the seat of Caius which was placed in the temple, and presented gifts of money, as if he himself had been there to receive them. They afterwards assembled in the senate house, without being convened by any of the magistrates, and spent the whole day in proposing eulogies and vows in behalf of a prince, whom they detested. They were convoked on the third day by the joint authority of all the prætors; but no business was transacted until the twelfth day, when it was announced that Caius had resigned the consulship. The persons who had been elected to the office then undertook its regular duties;

* Juvenal (Sat. i. 49) is supposed to allude to these punishments:

Palleat, ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
Aut Lugdunensem rhætor dicturus ad aram.

and among other acts it was decreed that the birth-days of Tiberius and Drusilla should be observed with the same ceremonies as that of Augustus.

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

Caius put to death Ptolemy, prince of a part of Africa, after he had sent for him from his kingdom, and received him with marks of distinction. He perpetrated this crime either with the view of gaining possession of his riches, or, as Suetonius alleges, from a spirit of mere envy, because during some games the monarch's purple robe had attracted the notice and admiration of the spectators. Ptolemy was the son of Juba, king of Mauritania, and the grandson of Mark Antony and Cleopatra: he was therefore cousin of Germanicus, the father of Caius.

Suet. iv.
26, 35.
Dion. lix.

As a sequel to his ridiculous attack upon the Germans, Caius now amused himself with the project of invading Britain. For this great enterprize he descended to the opposite coasts of Gaul, and drew up all his army, and arranged his engines of war, upon the sea shore. Having embarked in his triremes, and sailed out a little way, he returned to land; he then ascended a lofty throne, and after giving the signal of battle, and commanding the trumpets to sound, he suddenly ordered the soldiers to gather up the shells on the shore, and fill their bosoms and helmets with them! These, he declared, were the spoils of the ocean, to be reserved for the decoration of his palace, and the Capitol! In commemoration of his victory, he built a very lofty tower, which was to serve as a light-house to the coast; he also rewarded the soldiers, and congratulated them upon their great wealth and felicity. The shells were to be carried to Rome, where he intended to celebrate a triumph on account of his achievements in Germany and

Suet. iv.
46, 49.
Dion. lix.

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

Gaul. In addition to the few captives and deserters, that were in his army, he selected the tallest * of the Gauls, and some of their princes, to swell the dignity of the procession ; and they were commanded to let their hair grow, to learn the German language, and in every respect to make themselves resemble the people whom they were intended to counterfeit. The triremes, in which he had entered the ocean, were sent to Rome, and for a great part of the way were conveyed thither by land. He wrote, also, to his procurators, commanding them to prepare such a triumph as had never before been exhibited; but they were to disburse as little as possible of his money, because they had absolute power over the possessions of all others.

Before he departed from Gaul, he conceived the atrocious design of slaughtering the legions, who had revolted after the death of Augustus, and had resisted his father Germanicus, when he himself was an infant in the camp. Being with difficulty dissuaded from executing the whole of his barbarous wishes, he resolved that the offenders should at least be decimated ; and they were, therefore, summoned to an assembly without their arms and swords, and surrounded by a body of cavalry. When, however, they began to suspect his designs, and stole away to fetch their weapons, he fled with terror from the assembly, and hastened to Rome, in order to pour his vengeance upon the unfortunate senate. He was angry with that body for not regarding his exploits with the same admiration as he himself did ; and although he had forbidden them, a little time before, to decree him any honours, yet he now complained that they

* These he called, by a Greek compound, ἀξιοθριαμβέοντες.

defrauded him of the triumph which was his due. While he was in this resentful mood, he was met by the ambassadors who were sent to beseech him to hasten his return to Rome. "Yes" (he replied) "I will come, and this with me," striking his hand upon the hilt of his sword. He ordered that none of the senators should come out to meet him, and, having abandoned or deferred his triumph, he entered the city on his birth-day in a mere ovation.

He was near destroying the whole senate, for not having decreed him more than human honours; but among the people, whom he considered less unfriendly to him, he distributed a great quantity of gold and silver. Many persons lost their lives in the scramble, because (as it was rather incredibly alleged) small daggers were thrown with the money. He ordered Cassius Betillinus to be killed, and Capito, his father, though not accused of any offence, to be present at the execution. When the unhappy parent asked if he might shut his eyes during the appalling deed, he himself was put to death.

Protogenes, whom the emperor employed as the minister of his atrocious cruelties, having one day entered the senate, and being addressed by a crowd of persons, who were anxious to pay their court to him, looked sternly upon Scribonius Proculus, and asked him, "Do you dare to salute me, while you entertain such hostility to the emperor?" Upon this intimation the senators surrounded the unfortunate victim, and tore him to pieces; and Caius was so pleased with this act of barbarous vengeance, that he declared himself reconciled to the senate. They in turn decreed that he should sit on a lofty throne in the senate-house, and be attended there by a military guard; they also flattered him

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A D. 40.

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

Dion. lix.

with extraordinary appellations, sometimes styling him a hero, and sometimes a god.

He himself still maintained his pretensions to divinity, and usurped the honours not only of the gods but of the goddesses of Olympus. Not content with representing himself as Jupiter, he sometimes pretended to be Juno, and sometimes Venus or Diana, and he arrayed himself in the ornaments and garb appropriated to these goddesses. An honest Gaul, who beheld him on a certain occasion assuming the majesty of Jupiter, could not abstain from laughter; and when Caius called him and asked him what he considered him to be, he candidly replied, *a great fool*. This offence went unpunished, as the man was only a shoe-maker; though to a person of greater dignity, it would certainly have been fatal. Caius commanded the celebrated statue of Jupiter at Olympia to be brought to Rome, in order to be transformed into a likeness of himself; but fortunately the plan was not executed, and, according to Dion and other writers, the removal of the statue was prevented by miraculous interpositions. His wife Cæsonia, his uncle Claudius, and other persons of distinguished wealth, were enrolled in his priesthood; he also acted as priest to himself, and his horse was admitted to the same office. He had a machine for imitating thunder and lightning, and when the lightning fell, he used to cast a stone into the air, exclaiming in the language of

Hom. Il. xxiii.
724.

Homer, "Destroy me, or I will destroy you."

Phil. Legat.
Jos. Ant.
xviii. 8.

• While the Romans and the rest of the pagan world seemed indifferent about acknowledging the divinity of Caius, the Jews displayed much nobler sentiments of religion, and boldly resisted his impious claims. Some of the inhabitants of Jamnia, instigated by Capito the procurator, who was

anxious for a sedition in order to cover his own acts of extortion, raised a brick altar to Caius; and the Jews, incensed at the indignity which was offered to their law, immediately pulled it down. Capito, pleased at this occurrence, wrote such an account of it as he thought proper to Caius; and the emperor ordered that instead of this brick altar a colossal statue of himself should be made, and erected in the temple of Jerusalem, which was hereafter to be called the temple of the illustrious Caius, and the new Jupiter! Petronius, the governor of Syria, was intrusted with the execution of this impious order, and was to take a sufficient number of troops to force the Jews, in case they offered resistance.

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

He accordingly collected his army at Ptolemais, and announced to the chief men of the Jews the emperor's determination, advising them to submit peaceably, and not expose themselves to the horrors of a destructive war. As soon as the Jewish people were informed of the sacrilegious project, they almost universally left their habitations and flocked to Ptolemais, where they presented themselves before the governor with all the humility of suppliants, and with every demonstration of the profoundest grief. They offered no violence, but endeavoured to move his compassion by tears, beseeching him not to attempt an act that would be a violation of their sacred law. When he declared that he was under the necessity of obeying the emperor's commands, they replied that they were under a much stronger necessity of obeying the commandments of their God, and they evinced their determination to do so, however perilous might be the contest. Surprised at their firmness, and wishing to obtain a more accurate knowledge

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

of their affairs, he removed to Tiberias; but thither also he was followed by myriads of importunate suppliants. When he asked them, if they would venture to make war with the Romans, they answered that they wished not for war, but they would die rather than submit to the open infringement of their laws. At the same time they threw themselves on the ground, offering their necks to his sword; and this extraordinary scene continued for forty days, while all business was suspended, and the cultivation of their lands neglected. Moved by their admirable patience and firmness, Petronius at last consented to write to the emperor in their behalf, although of course he could not assure them that his interference would be successful. Their hopes, however, revived; and when they were suddenly visited with great showers of rain in a clear sky, and after a long drought, they trusted that the God, whose honour they vindicated, would be ready to protect them.

Caius was rather exasperated by the letter of Petronius, than induced to abandon his design; and even King Agrippa, who addressed an epistle to him on the same subject, obtained no better success. When, however, the monarch invited him to a sumptuous entertainment, Caius, pleased with the splendours of the feast, and elated with the hilarity of wine, promised to grant him whatever he should desire; and Agrippa, instead of seeking his private aggrandizement, requested, even at the hazard of his own life, that he would forego the intention of placing his statue in the Temple of Jerusalem. The emperor so far yielded, that he commanded Petronius, that if the statue was erected, it should remain; if not, he should desist from any further attempts. But he soon

resumed his project, intending, when he travelled into Egypt, to cause his statue to be placed secretly in the Holy Temple. This, however, was frustrated by his death; as were also the orders which he sent to Petronius, bidding him pass sentence on himself, as a person who valued the presents of the Jews more than the commands of his emperor. The ship which conveyed this intimation to the governor, sailed so slowly, that before it arrived he was apprized of the death of Caius.

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

Philo, the learned Jew, who has written an account of the above transactions, was at Rome in the month of September, being deputed by his countrymen of Alexandria to complain of the loss of their rights, and of the injuries which had been inflicted upon them, in that city. He was opposed by a deputation of the Alexandrians, headed by Apion the grammarian*, who is the person against whom Josephus has directed one of his works. Philo and his friends were received by the emperor with ridicule and contempt: he asked them why they did not eat pork, with other

* Aulus Gellius (v. 14) relates, that when Apion was at Rome, he witnessed a wonderful recognition between a lion and a slave named Androclus. This man had been compelled by the cruelty of his master, who was proconsul of Africa, to run away and conceal himself in a cave. In the same place a wounded lion took refuge, and instead of attacking Androclus, gently approached him with his extended paw, and seemed to beseech his assistance. The slave, by extracting a great splinter, speedily cured the animal, who cherished the most lasting gratitude for the service. The man and the lion lived in the same cave for three years, the lion always bringing him the best portions of his prey, which for want of fire he used to bake in the sun. Weary, at length, of this savage life, Androclus left the cave, was captured, and carried to Rome. The same fate befell the lion; and when the slave's punishment was to engage with wild beasts in the circus, the lion, who was one of his antagonists, recognized his old companion and benefactor, and, though he had previously appeared to be of the most ferocious character, forbore to molest him. The slave and the lion were afterwards shown about the city, and thus described by the admiring spectators, *Hic est leo hospes hominis, hic est homo medicus leonis*: which signifies, "This is the lion who entertained the man, and this is the man who cured the lion."

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

foolish questions, and terrified them by the horrid blasphemies which he uttered. He at last dismissed them, observing that they did not appear so wicked, as unfortunate and stupid, in not believing that he was a god. But he did not redress their wrongs, nor prevent the Alexandrians from pursuing their outrages against them.

The time, however, was approaching, when his career of frenzy was to be terminated, and he was no longer to trample with impunity upon the sense and feelings of the whole civilized world.

Senec. de Con-
stan. 18.
Tac. Ann. xi. 1.

Among his other vices, he was remarkable for the most insulting raillery, although no one could afford juster materials for ridicule than himself. By this dangerous propensity he had provoked one of his intimate friends, Valerius Asiaticus, a powerful man of consular rank, and of a disposition too haughty to submit to the contumely of others. After having debauched his wife, he had the shameless effrontery to taunt him with indecent remarks concerning her, both at an entertainment and in a public assembly. Asiaticus was so stung with this insult, that he became one of the chief instigators in forming a conspiracy against the emperor's life, although he was not engaged in the actual assassination.

Dion. lix.
Suet. iv. 56.
Tac. Ann. i. 32.
Jos. Ant.
xix. 1.

The most active and zealous in the plot was Cassius Chærea, a tribune of the prætorian guards. As a young man he had distinguished himself during the revolt of the German legions after the death of Augustus; for while the other centurions yielded to the seditious troops, or were overpowered by their numbers, he resolutely cut his way through them with his sword in hand. He had conceived an unconquerable aversion to the tyranny of Caius, who had employed him in col-

lecting the arrears of tribute, and in acts of cruelty repulsive to his generous nature. He had also his own private insults to revenge; for though he was a man of unquestionable valour, yet the advance of age, and especially a weak voice and a languid way of speaking, had given him an appearance of effeminacy very inconsistent with his real character. These imperfections furnished an inviting theme for the coarse raillery of the tyrant. Whenever Chærea, in the order of his military duty, applied to him for the watch-word, he used to give him *Venus*, or *Priapus*, or some other word indicative of the contemptuous opinion which he entertained of him. These insults, which made Chærea ridiculous in the eyes of his fellow officers, became so insupportable, that he resolved to destroy Caius, and endeavour to persuade others to join him in the perilous enterprize. Caius is said to have been warned of his fate by an oracle, which bade him beware of a certain Cassius; but his suspicions, instead of falling upon Chærea, who bore that name, induced him to kill Cassius Longinus, who was proconsul of Asia, and a descendant of that Cassius who conspired against Julius Cæsar.

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

While Chærea was revolving his plan, Pompeius, an eminent senator, was accused of speaking disrespectfully of the emperor, and Quintilia, an actress of great beauty, to whom he was much attached, was cited to give testimony against him. She refused to bear witness against her lover, especially as she knew that the accusation was false; and therefore Chærea, who was often entrusted with such sanguinary duties, was commanded to put her to the torture. As she was acquainted with the plot that was meditated against the emperor's life, much fear was enter-

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

tained that she would divulge it; but when she was going to the torture, she trod upon the foot of one of the conspirators, as an assurance that their secret was safe, nor were all the dreadful pains to which she was subjected sufficient to overcome her fortitude. After her body had been cruelly mangled, she was led before Caius, who being moved with an unusual compassion, acquitted both her and Pompe dius, and at the same time rewarded her with a sum of money for the heroic firmness which she had displayed.

Chærea, disgusted at the cruelties to which he was thus made instrumental, began to open his complaints to Clemens, the præfect of the prætorian guards, and Papinius, one of the tribunes. He observed that they were indeed faithful servants of the emperor, as they had killed all who had conspired against his life, or tortured them to such an extent, as to excite even his compassion. When Clemens held his peace, but showed by his countenance that he was sensible of the justice of the reproof, Chærea declared that they themselves were the persons who were really culpable for the barbarities that were practised by the emperor, because, instead of resisting his cruelty, they carried it into execution, and made themselves subservient to the purpose of enslaving their countrymen; that notwithstanding their unjust submission they themselves would at last be destroyed by their tyrannical master; and, therefore, it was much wiser to protect the liberty of others, and secure themselves from danger. Clemens commended his resolution, but advised him to exercise caution, lest his intentions should be divulged; he pleaded his own age as an excuse for not taking an active part in an undertaking, which he acknow-

ledged would most highly exalt the reputation of Chærea.

CAIUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 40.

Cornelius Sabinus, to whom Chærea next addressed himself, gave him a much more cordial reception. He was a tribune in the prætorian guards, was an ardent friend to liberty, and had secretly cherished the design of overthrowing the tyranny of Caius; he therefore readily embraced the proposal which Chærea made, and is to be considered after him the most active person in the conspiracy.

Having communicated their sentiments, they waited upon Annius Minucianus, a man of great reputation and dignity, but suspected by the emperor on account of his friendship with Lepidus, who had been put to death for an alleged conspiracy. When Chærea was asked by him, what watchword he had received from Caius that day, he replied "Do thou give me the watchword of *liberty!*" He declared that he knew what a correspondence existed between the sentiments of Minucianus and his own, and that he was ready to follow him as a guide, or, if required, to lead the way, in the liberation of their country. Minucianus, pleased with his zeal, embraced him, and exhorted him to persevere in the enterprize which he had undertaken. Many senators and knights became privy to the plot; the most powerful of the freedmen were also concerned in it, and especially Callistus, who was remarkable for his great wealth. The emperor had alienated those who were nearest his person by suspecting them of being engaged in the conspiracy of Lepidus; and as he continued to reproach them upon this topic, they thought it safer to take away his life, than to trust their own to his forbearance.

CAIUS,
^{4.}
 A. D. 41.

It is reported that as Chærea was one day entering the senate, a voice issued from the crowd, exhorting him to execute his purpose, and to seize the opportunity which providence gave him. He was at first apprehensive that the conspiracy was discovered, but he preserved his composure, and the occurrence proved harmless. He was anxious, however, to expedite the deed, considering that the earliest opportunity was the best; but his friends recommended delay, in order that success might be more certain. They at last agreed that Caius should be killed during the Palatine games which were celebrated on the 21st of January, and the three following days, in honour of Augustus; for at such a time they thought he might be attacked without receiving protection from his guards. The first day of the games was selected for the enterprize, but it passed away, as well as the next two, without anything being effected. Chærea, therefore, summoned the conspirators, and upbraided them for their timid delay; he reminded them that Caius intended soon to set sail for Alexandria, and that it would be an indelible disgrace to them, if an Egyptian or some one else should accomplish what they dared not, and slay the tyrant; he protested that he would submit to no more procrastination, and that if they would not be persuaded by him, he himself would encounter the whole danger. By these remonstrances he roused their courage, and they resolved that the last day of the games should not be neglected like the preceding.

Dion relates that a certain Egyptian named Apollonius, having predicted the death of Caius, was sent to Rome to receive the punishment of his temerity, and was brought before the tyrant on

the very day of his assassination ; that he was to have been executed shortly afterwards, but escaped by the accomplishment of that event which he had foretold. Suetonius recounts some presages of the emperor's death, which would excite little attention at present, but which might have appeared important in an age when the belief in superstitious omens was universal.

CAIUS, ^{4.}
A. D. 41.

On the morning which was doomed to be his last Caius offered sacrifices to Augustus, and took his seat in the theatre, which was constructed in front of the palace, in order to view the spectacles. He was attended by Chærea, and other tribunes of the guards, and displayed a more than usual mirth and affability in his conversation. A quantity of fruit being thrown among the people, he was amused with the tumult and contests which the scramble excited. Those who were acquainted with the plot sat in anxious expectation of more important events. A senator having asked Cluvius, a man of consular rank who sat near him, whether he had heard of any news, was answered in the negative. "Know then," said he, "that to-day will be represented the slaughter of the tyrant." Cluvius, understanding his allusion, advised him to take care that they were not overheard by their enemies. It was remarked that it was the same day on which Philip king of Macedon had been killed on his entrance to the theatre, and that the same tragedy was performed as on that occasion ; but there is no coincidence beyond these accidental circumstances, as it would be the greatest injustice to compare Philip of Macedon with Caligula of Rome.

The spectacles were to be continued during the night, and it was believed that Caius intended to

Suet. iv. 54.

CAIUS,
 4.
 A. D. 41.
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take advantage of the revelry, in order to exhibit himself on the stage in the character of a dancer and performer of tragedy. In the mean time Chærea had left the theatre, and was anxiously waiting for the emperor to return to the palace: Minucianus rising to follow him was detained by Caius, but when he made a second attempt was allowed to depart. Caius, however, regaled himself with eating and drinking in the theatre, and hesitated whether he should quit it at all, as it was the last day of the games; and Chærea was so disappointed by this delay, that he began to think of attacking him in the theatre, notwithstanding the bloodshed and confusion which such a scene would create. But Caius was at length persuaded by one of the conspirators to go to the palace for the purpose of bathing and dining, and afterwards to return to the spectacles. He rose, therefore, from his seat about one or two o'clock, being preceded by his uncle Claudius, and his sister's husband, while the conspirators, under pretence of clearing the way, studiously kept the crowd at a distance. When he entered the palace, he did not follow the direction which Claudius had taken, and in which his servants were waiting for him, but turned aside into a narrow gallery, to view some singing boys, who were of noble families, and had been brought from Asia, in order to perform in the games. While he was speaking to them, Chærea, according to the narrative of Josephus, applied to him for the watchword, and when he received one of an insulting nature, he drew his sword, and struck him a violent blow between the neck and shoulder. Caius was staggered with the wound, and, without calling for assistance, endeavoured to flee; but Sabinus pushed him down on his knees, and all the conspirators

attacked him with their swords, until Aquila gave him his death blow. Suetonius relates, that there were two accounts of the catastrophe. According to the first, Chærea coming behind him, while he was addressing the singing boys, gave him a severe wound in the neck, and Sabinus afterwards wounded him in the breast. According to the other account, Sabinus asked him for the watchword, and when *Jupiter* was given, Chærea struck him a blow, which cleft his jaw-bone. As he lay upon the ground, exclaiming that he was not dead, the conspirators gave him no less than thirty wounds, encouraging one another with the signal which they had chosen, *Strike again*. They continued to lacerate his body after he had expired, and, according to Dion, some gratified their revenge by eating part of his flesh. They afterwards fled from the palace in different directions.

CAIUS,
4.
A. D. 41.

Suet. iv. 58.

The corpse of Caius was placed on a bed, and covered, by King Agrippa, who was not unmindful of the great benefits which he had received from the emperor. It was afterwards conveyed secretly to the Lamian gardens, and being half-burnt was laid under the turf; but when his sisters returned from exile, they gave it a more regular sepulture. Suetonius constrains us to smile, when he reports it as an undisputed fact, that before the body of Caius was interred by his sisters, the gardens were infested by spirits, and that the part of the palace in which he was killed was disturbed with nightly alarms, until it was consumed by fire. He says also, it was generally remarked, that all the Cæsars who had borne the name of Caius, were destroyed by the sword, reckoning from the one who was slain in the time of Cinna.

Jos. Ant.

xix. 4.

Dion. lix.

Suet. iv. 50, 60.

Caius was assassinated on the 24th January,

CAIUS,
^{4.}
 A. D. 41.

being in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and having possessed the imperial dignity for the space of three years and about ten months. His vices and crimes were a stigma upon human nature: though in his infatuation he deemed himself a god, and exacted the payment of divine honours. After having lately wished that the Roman people had but one head, he experienced that he himself had but one, while they possessed many hands for its destruction.

Suet. iv. 50, 51.
 Senec. de
 Constan. 18.

He was tall in his stature, of pale complexion, exceedingly slender in his neck and legs, but with large feet: his eyes were fierce and sunken, he had but little hair on his head, and none on the crown, though the other parts of his body were rough. In consequence of this deformity, it became a capital offence to look down upon him from an eminence as he was passing by, or on any account to make mention of a goat. The natural ferocity of his countenance was heightened by art, and he used to labour before a mirror to give himself a terrific appearance. The health of his body was not robust; for when a boy he was subject to epilepsy, and in youth his strength often sunk under severe labour. As to his mind, he himself was sensible of its infirmity, and used to talk of purifying his brain; nor is it easy for any one to conceive that his intellect was not seriously disturbed. His insanity appears still more probable, when we read that he seldom slept more than three hours in the night, and that during these he was terrified with various phantasms; that he used to lie awake on his bed, or wander through the porticoes of the city, anxiously praying for and expecting the break of day. Although at times he pretended to despise the gods, yet at the slightest storm of thunder and lightning he would cover his face, and if it became violent, he would rise and hide

himself under his bed. During his visit to Sicily, he ridiculed many of the alleged miracles there, but fled hastily from Messana by night, being terrified by the smoke and murmurs of Mount Etna.

CAIUS,
4.
A. D. 41.

Of his monstrous cruelty sufficient instances have been already adduced. His arrogance was equally great. When Pompeius Pennus, an aged and illustrious senator, whose life he had forborne to destroy, came to thank him for such mercy, he gave him his left foot to kiss. Some persons imagined that this proceeded from his vanity as much as his insolence, and that he wished to display his golden shoe studded with pearls. Dion, however, relates that he gave his foot as well as his hand for the salutation of the once haughty Romans.

Senec. de Ben.
ii. 12.

His luxury and prodigality were unbounded. Suet. iv. 37. He was washed with warm and cold perfumes, drank the most costly pearls melted in vinegar, and displayed golden loaves at his entertainments, declaring that it was proper to live like a frugal man, or like a Cæsar. He had gallies built of cedar, their poops adorned with precious stones, and their sails of various colours, with spacious baths and other luxuries, and a variety of fruit trees and vines; reclining in these sumptuous vessels he coasted along the shores of Campania amidst concerts of music and singing. In the construction of villas and other buildings he was as extravagant as possible, desiring nothing so much as to effect what was deemed impracticable. Piers were, therefore, made in deep and rough parts of the sea, the hardest rocks were cut through, plains were elevated to the mountains, and mountains levelled to the plains; and such arduous works were performed with incredible celerity, because death was the penalty of delay. By these extra-

CAIUS,
4.
A. D. 41.

Suet. iv.
52, 53.

vagances he consumed in the space of a year immense sums, and all the wealth which had been accumulated by the avarice of Tiberius.

His general style of dress was neither that of a Roman, nor of a man, nor of a human being. He often wore female habiliments, but generally appeared with a golden beard, wielding thunder, and holding a trident or caduceus.

Suet. iv. 34.

Although he had paid but little attention to learning in general, yet he had carefully cultivated eloquence; and it is acknowledged that he possessed a considerable promptitude in speaking, accompanied with a vehemence of delivery. He despised a gentle and refined mode of composition, and for this reason disregarded the writings of Seneca. He is said to have meditated the destruction of the poems of Homer, declaring that he had the same right as Plato, who had banished him from his republic. Virgil he condemned as possessing no genius and but little learning; and Livy he censured for verboseness and negligence; and he was very near removing the writings and statues of these two celebrated authors from all the public libraries.

Suet. iv. 54.

He devoted himself to fencing, driving, singing, and dancing with much more alacrity than to any intellectual pursuits. One night he sent for three persons of consular rank, who came to the palace in great trepidation, expecting instant death. But after they had been admitted, Caius suddenly appeared before them, amidst the sound of various instruments, and arrayed in a tragic dress; and when he had danced and sung for a certain time, he left them to enjoy their wonder. Odious as the memory of Tiberius was to the Romans, yet the conduct of Caius almost made them regret him; for

Dion. lix.
Suet. iv. 55.

while Tiberius governed by himself or ministers, Caius was ruled by gladiators, charioteers, and actors. He scourged with his own hand those who created the slightest disturbance during the exhibition of his favourite performers; and when a Roman knight happened to be guilty of such an offence, he ordered him to depart immediately into Mauritania, and carry letters to king Ptolemy, containing the following instructions: "Let the man whom I have sent, receive from you neither kindness nor injury."

CAIUS,
4.
A. D. 41.

Of the immense sums, which he lavished, but little was spent on useful undertakings. He commenced an harbour at Rhegium for the ships that conveyed corn from Egypt; but the work, though useful, was not completed. He also began an aqueduct, which was finished by Claudius, and an amphitheatre, which was discontinued. He restored the walls and the temples of Syracuse, and had intended to build a city on the top of the Alps, and to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth.

Jos. Ant.
xix. 2.
Suet. iv. 21.

THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS.

CHAPTER I.

Commotion excited at Rome upon the death of Caius, and the violence of the German troops.—Claudius is carried by the soldiers to the camp, and declared Emperor.—The senate desirous of restoring freedom.—Chærea commands the wife and child of Caius to be killed.—King Agrippa, being sent by the senate on a deputation to Claudius, advises him not to resign his power.—The senate, deserted by their soldiers, are compelled to acknowledge Claudius.—His previous life and disposition.—Orders Chærea and some others to be put to death.—Acquires popularity by various good actions.—Recalls Agrippina and Julia from exile.—The latter is again banished, and afterwards put to death by Messalina.—Seneca sent into banishment.—Generosity of Claudius to several princes.—Extends the dominions of Agrippa, and issues edicts in favour of the Jews.—Takes the title of Imperator on account of the success of his generals.—Mauritania subdued and divided into two provinces.—Claudius builds a harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, and attempts to empty the Lake Fucinus.—His love of bloodshed.

CHÆREA and the other conspirators, after the assassination of Caius, took refuge in the house of Germanicus which adjoined the palace. As soon as a

CLAUDIUS,
1.
A. D. 41.
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CLAUDIUS,
 1.
 A. D. 41.
 Jos. Ant. xix. 1.
 Suet. iv. 58.

commotion was excited by the emperor's death, the slaves who used to carry his litter ran to the spot where he lay, and were soon followed by some of the German troops who composed his body guard. These foreign mercenaries, being attached to Caius on account of his munificence to them, resolved to avenge his death, and for this purpose placed themselves under the direction of one of the tribunes named Sabinus, who had formerly been a gladiator. The first person they encountered was a senator named Asprenas, whom they immediately killed. His garments had in the morning been accidentally stained with the blood of the sacrifices; and Josephus, writing more like a pagan than a Jew, interprets this circumstance as a manifest omen of his death. The next person the Germans met was Norbanus, one of the most illustrious men of the city; he wrested a sword from the first of those who attacked him, but was overpowered by their numbers. Anteius, a senator, having come to gratify his revengeful feeling by inspecting the dead body of Caius, who had killed his father, was also murdered. The soldiers inflicted vengeance upon some of the actual conspirators, but in the blindness of their fury did not scruple to massacre the innocent as well as the guilty.

Jos. Ant. xix. 1.
 Suet. iv. 60.

When the first report of the emperor's death reached the theatre, where the people were still assembled, it excited an indescribable variety of sentiments. Every one attempted to believe or disbelieve it, according as his hopes or fears made him desire or dread such an event: some deemed the contingency impossible, and many suspected that the rumour was disseminated by Caius himself, in order to ascertain the feelings with which the people

would receive it. It also began to be affirmed that he was not dead, but only wounded; so that no one dared to avow his sentiments to others, for fear that he should afterwards be made responsible for them. But all other feelings were absorbed in the sense of imminent danger, when it was understood that some of the Germans had surrounded the theatre, and were meditating an attack upon the spectators. The people endeavoured to soften the soldiers by tears and entreaties, protesting that they were innocent of any designs either to destroy the emperor, or raise a sedition. Their terror was increased, when they beheld the heads of Asprenas, and the others who had been killed, placed upon the altar which was in the theatre. By degrees, however, it was ascertained that Caius was really dead, for Arruntius, one of the public heralds, clothed himself in mourning, and openly announced the fact. The soldiers were exhorted by their tribunes to put up their swords, and abstain from all further violence; and as they reflected that they had given sufficient demonstrations of their zeal, and that any further aggression could procure them no reward from Caius, but might expose them to the anger of the senate, they abandoned their sanguinary intentions, and allowed the people to depart without injury.

CLAUDIUS,
1.
A. D. 41.

The consuls, Pomponius Secundus and Sentius Saturninus, having arranged guards throughout the city for the preservation of order, convened the senate in the Capitol, instead of the Julian court, which was odious on account of its name. Some of the senators even proposed that the memory of the Cæsars should be abolished, and their temples destroyed. An active search, however, was made by the people for those who had killed Caius, until it

Dion. lix. lx.
Suet. iv. (3).
Jon. Ant.
xix. 1.

CLAUDIUS, ^{1.}
A. D. 41. } was stopped by the bold declaration of Valerius Asiaticus, who, being asked respecting the perpetrators of the deed, promptly replied; "Would that I had done it!" The consuls issued an edict, enjoining the people and the soldiers to remain tranquil; and the conspirators, finding that their lives were no longer in danger, avowed themselves and took part in the deliberations of the senate.

Suet. v. 10.
Jos. Ant.
xix. 3.

Claudius had no sooner heard of the death of his nephew, than he endeavoured to conceal himself behind some curtains covering a door in an obscure part of the palace. A soldier, who was accidentally passing, having observed his legs, dragged him from his hiding-place. Claudius prostrated himself before him in great trepidation; but when the man ascertained who he was, he saluted him Emperor, and led him forth to his comrades, who placed him in a litter, and carried him to the camp in a state of deep perplexity and dismay. The people who saw him in the hands of the soldiers imagined that they were conducting him to punishment: they intended, on the contrary, to invest him with the imperial dignity, and for this purpose detained him in the camp during the whole night.

Suet. v. 10.
Dion. lx.
Jos. Ant.
xix. 2.

The consuls, supported by the senate and the city cohorts, had taken possession of the forum and the Capitol, and had resolved to espouse the cause of public freedom. One of them named Saturninus, although he knew the intentions of the military respecting Claudius, boldly gave his opinion in favour of liberty, and advised the senate to bestow the highest honours upon those who had conspired against Caius, and especially Chærea, whom he commended as a greater benefactor to his country than Brutus or Cassius. The senators protracted their deliberations during the night, and

though they were not unanimous, the majority of them were desirous of restoring the republican government. Chærea applied to the consuls for the watchword: they gave him *Liberty*, and he communicated it to that portion of the troops, which acknowledged the authority of the senate. As he did not consider it safe that the wife and daughter of Caius should be allowed to live, he sent a centurion named Julius Lupus to destroy them. This officer found Cæsonia lamenting over the mangled body of her husband; and as soon as she was apprized of the object of his coming she boldly presented her neck to his sword, and her child was dashed to death against the wall. These acts of cruelty were condemned by some of the conspirators as unnecessary.

CLAUDIUS,
1.
A. D. 41.

Jos. Ant. xix. 2.
Suet. iv. 59.

On the following day, which was the 25th of January, the partisans of Claudius increased both among the soldiers and the people, who began to reflect that the nomination of an emperor would be most conducive to their interests, and might prevent the miseries of a civil war. The senate were divided in their counsels, and intimidated by the opposition which was offered to their authority. In their perplexity they sent for king Agrippa, who declared that he was willing to sacrifice his life for their honour, but suggested that, if they were desirous of wielding the government, they stood in need both of arms and soldiers. When they expressed a confidence in their resources, he reminded them that their troops were weak and inexperienced in comparison with the prætorian guards: he advised them, therefore, to send deputies to Claudius, in order to dissuade him from usurping the chief power, and declared that he himself was ready to be one of the number. He was accordingly sent in company

Jos. Ant. xix. 4.
Suet. v. 10.

^{1.}
 { CLAUDIUS, with some others ; but when he arrived at the camp,
 A. D. 41. he treacherously deserted the cause of the senate,
 informed Claudius of their weak condition, and
 advised him to return such an answer as would
 indicate a consciousness of his power. Emboldened
 by so many encouraging circumstances, Claudius
 replied to the deputies, that he was not surprised
 that the senate were averse to the imperial autho-
 rity, after the tyranny which they had experienced
 under it ; that he, however, would cause them to
 enjoy the blessings of a mild and equitable govern-
 ment, and that while he nominally held the chief
 power, they should all have a share in the adminis-
 tration of the state ; and he added, that the tenor
 of his past life was a sufficient assurance that they
 might safely confide in him. Having dismissed
 the deputies with this answer, he harangued the
 soldiers, and allowed them to take the oath of alle-
 giance to him : he also promised each man fifteen
 sesterces*, being the first of the Cæsars who pur-
 chased the fidelity of the troops by a pecuniary
 donative.

Jos. Ant.
 xix. 4.

The senators now found themselves placed in a
 fearful position ; and many of them, instead of obey-
 ing the order issued by the consuls for their convo-
 cation, concealed themselves or retired from Rome.
 Not more than a hundred of them assembled on the
 26th of January ; and while they were deliberating
 upon the public affairs, they were suddenly assailed
 by a cry from the soldiers of their own party, de-
 manding that they should choose an emperor,
 whomsoever they thought most worthy, and not
 endanger the state by subjecting it to many rulers.
 Finding, therefore, that it was impossible to pursue

* Josephus makes the sum much larger, but there is probably an error in
 the copies.

their own plans of government, they began to think of electing some one who was more worthy of the imperial dignity than Claudius. Several candidates were proposed; but when it was known, that the gladiators and others were hastening to the camp for the purpose of acknowledging Claudius, they ceased to desire so dangerous a pre-eminence. Chærea endeavoured to harangue the soldiers, but they refused to listen to him, and persisted in demanding an emperor. He reminded them of the disgraceful treatment which they had experienced from Caius, and expressed his astonishment that they should desire to be ruled by so silly a person as Claudius. His reproaches, however, were ineffectual, as they raised their standards and marched to the camp to offer their submission to Claudius. The senators, thus deserted, had no resource but to follow the steps of the soldiers. When they arrived at the camp, they were at first received with rudeness and even violence; but Agrippa interceded in their behalf, and obtained for them the protection of Claudius. Being thus acknowledged emperor by all ranks of the state, Claudius left the camp, and, having offered thanksgivings to the gods, quietly withdrew to the palace.

CLAUDIUS,
1.
A. D. 41.

He was now in the fiftieth year of his age, having been born at Lyons on the 1st of August, in the consulship of Julius Antonius and Fabius Africanus. He had received the names of Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus, and after the adoption of his elder brother into the Julian family had assumed the title of Germanicus. His father Drusus was the son of Livia, and his mother Antonia was the daughter of Mark Antony: he was nephew therefore of Tiberius, brother of the celebrated Germanicus, and uncle of the emperor Caius. He had been subject from his

Suet. v. 2—10.
Dion. lx.

CLAUDIUS,
 1.
 A. D. 41.

youth to violent attacks of disease, which had so impaired his bodily strength, that his head shook, his hands trembled, and his utterance was imperfect. He had enjoyed a liberal education, and had made such a proficiency in learning, as to venture to publish some of his compositions. Notwithstanding his attainments he was long deemed unfit for any public employment, and was treated by his nearest relatives with the most undisguised contempt. His mother used to describe him as a monster of a man, only half-finished by nature; and if she had reason to revile any one for dulness, she would call him more stupid than her son Claudius. He was scorned by Livia, and neglected by Augustus; and when he applied to Tiberius to grant him the consulship, his request was denied. He withdrew, therefore, into retirement, living in the suburbs of Rome, or in Campania; but from the profligate company, to which he was abandoned, he contracted the vices of ebriety and gambling. He was also much addicted to amours, and in the seasons of his licentious pleasures was easily overcome by the artifices of others. Having passed much of his time with women and freedmen, he was greatly deficient in manliness and energy of character. His disposition was timid, and when he was inspired with fear, he was unable to act with reason or propriety: those, therefore, who wished to subjugate him to their will, readily took advantage of this weakness. Notwithstanding the imbecility of his character, the people of Rome had generally treated him with a considerable degree of regard, arising either from compassion at his neglected situation, or from respect for his illustrious relatives. Caius, as we have related, had invested him with the consulship; but of all the various contingencies of the future,

none ever seemed more improbable, than, that Claudius should be raised to the imperial power.

When he arrived at the palace, he consulted with his friends concerning the manner in which Chærea and the other conspirators ought to be treated. Although they had been the cause of his elevation, yet it seemed dangerous in a prince not to discountenance such actions as theirs, especially as he knew that they had desired his death as well as that of Caius. Chærea, Lupus, and some others, were therefore condemned to die. Chærea submitted to his fate with calmness and fortitude. He reproached Lupus for his lamentations, and when he complained of the cold, jestingly told him (in allusion to his name) that the cold could not injure a *wolf*. He desired to be killed with the same sword which he had used against Caius, and the executioner dispatched him by a single blow. At the Parentalia, or feasts for the dead, which were observed a few days afterwards, the Romans offered honours to the *Manes* of Chærea, and prayed him not to be incensed at the ingratitude with which they had deserted him. Sabinus was offered a free pardon; but as he scorned to survive his friend and confederate, he fell upon his sword, which pierced his body to the very hilt. After these punishments Claudius desired that there should be a perfect oblivion of every thing said or done on the two days following the death of Caius. Persons, therefore, who had wished to restore the ancient government, or had been considered fit candidates for the dignity of emperor, were not only forgiven by him, but raised to honours.

Although he was capable of such generosity, he was afraid to enter the senate for the space of

CLAUDIUS,

1.

A. D. 41.

JOS. ANT.

XIX. 4.

DION LX.

SUET. IV.

11, 12.

^{1.}
 CLAUDIUS, thirty days. Mindful of the fate of Caius, and
 aware that several of the citizens had been deemed
 more worthy of the supreme power than himself,
 he ordered all persons, both male and female, to be
 searched before they entered his presence, in order
 that no weapons might be concealed under their
 garments. This degrading custom was abolished
 by Vespasian; but another which Claudius intro-
 duced, of having military guards at his entertain-
 ments, was not abandoned by his successors.

The usual titles being decreed to him by the
 senate, he at first declined that of *Father of his*
country, but afterwards accepted it. Suetonius
 says that he abstained from prefixing *Imperator*
 to his name: he did not, however, refuse it, when it
 was given to him in its ancient acceptation, as a
 title of victory. Discountenancing the impious
 practices of Caius, he ordered that no adoration
 should be paid, and no sacrifices offered to himself.
 He allowed but three statues at first to be erected
 to him, alleging that the temples and other places
 were filled with such works of art, and that the
 number of them had become burdensome to the
 city. He did not wish the marriage-days and
 birth-days of his family to be honoured with any
 public solemnity, but observed them merely as
 domestic occurrences. He married his daughter
 Antonia this year to Cn. Pompeius, and betrothed
 his other daughter Octavia to L. Junius Silanus.
 The sons-in-law did not receive any remarkable
 honours; but Pompeius was allowed to resume
 the surname of Magnus, which the absurd jealousy
 of Caius had compelled him to lay aside.

Claudius abolished all actions for alleged im-
 piety against the prince, and liberated those who
 were imprisoned for such offences. Although

many had treated him, when in a private station, with great contempt and injustice, he did not revenge himself upon them, unless they were convicted of other charges. He repealed the taxes imposed by Caius, and gradually rescinded his other unpopular acts. He recalled, with the sanction of the senate, such persons as had been unjustly banished, and restored to them their property. He ordered the poisons which Caius had provided in great quantities to be thrown into the sea; he also executed Protogenes the infamous informer, and destroyed his documents. The letters of accusation which Caius had pretended to burn, were found in the palace, and after being shown to the senators, and perused by all the parties concerned, were at length committed to the flames. When, however, the senate proposed to stigmatize the memory of his nephew, he interfered, and ordered all his statues to be removed privately by night. But the name of Caius, as well as that of Tiberius, was omitted in the list of emperors, who were mentioned in the public oaths and vows; although no decree of the senate had inflicted this disgrace upon either of them.

CLAUDIUS,
1.
A. D. 41.

Claudius evinced a generous disregard for money by rejecting the new-year's gifts which had been received by Augustus and Caius; by forbidding persons who had relatives to nominate him as their heir; and by restoring the money, which had been extorted by Tiberius and Caius, either to the actual owners or their children. In order to reform the manners of the populace, he demolished the low taverns in which they assembled to drink, and prohibited any one from selling dressed meat, or even warm water. He also returned to the various cities the choice statues, of which they had been

^{1.}
 CLAUDIUS, plundered by Caius. The knights and the females
 A. D. 41. who had danced on the stage in the time of Caius,
 appeared there once more, and never afterwards
 while Claudius was alive. By such conduct he
 acquired great popularity among the Romans, who
 cherished the hope that they were at length going
 to enjoy a mild and equitable government. But he
 was too weak to pursue a consistent and undeviating
 course of virtue, and it was soon discovered that all
 his good intentions would be frustrated by the pro-
 fligate arts of his freedmen and his wife Messalina.

Among the persons whom he had recalled from
 banishment were his nieces Agrippina and Julia,
 the daughters of Germanicus. Messalina was soon
 provoked by the want of deference and adulation
 which she experienced from Julia, and was also
 jealous of her beauty, and of the familiarity
 which she enjoyed with Claudius. She accused
 her, therefore, of adultery and other offences, and
 without allowing her any opportunity of de-
 fending herself, drove her into banishment, and
 soon afterwards caused her to be put to death.
 The philosopher Seneca, being implicated in the
 accusation, was also exiled.

Claudius restored to Antiochus the kingdom of
 Commagene, which Caius had first given to him,
 and afterwards taken away.

He liberated Mithridates, king of Armenia (who
 had been imprisoned by Caius), and sent him home
 to take possession of his dominions. Another
 Mithridates, descended from the celebrated mon-
 arch of that name, received the country of the
 Cimmerian Bosphorus, for the loss of which King
 Polemon was repaid with part of Cilicia.

Jos. Ant. xix. 5.
 Dion. lx.

Agrippa, who had been so instrumental in pro-
 curing the sovereign power for Claudius, was

rewarded with a considerable augmentation of his dominions. He was put in possession of Judæa and Samaria, over which his grandfather had reigned, and was invested with the consular honours. His brother Herod received the prætorian honours, together with the kingdom of Chalcis, at the foot of Mount Libanus. Both the princes were permitted to enter the senate, and to return thanks to the emperor in the Greek language. Through their solicitation, also, the whole Jewish people were favoured with the extraordinary protection of Claudius. For he issued an edict, commanding that the Jews of Alexandria should enjoy without molestation all their ancient rights and privileges in that city; and this was followed by another edict, permitting the Jews in all parts of the empire to observe their laws and customs in a free and peaceable manner. Dion, however, relates that the Jews of Rome, who had become very numerous, were not allowed to hold assemblages there.

CLAUDIUS,
1.
A. D. 41.

Claudius was persuaded to accept of the triumphal honours on account of some success gained over the Moors, who had risen to revenge the death of their king Ptolemy; but the victory, whatever it was, occurred before he was emperor. Sulpicius Galba defeated the Catti; and P. Gabinius, besides other exploits, recovered from the Germans the last eagle which remained in their possession from the slaughter of the legions of Varus. For these achievements of his generals, Claudius received the title of *Imperator*.

In the following year he held the consulship for two months, but permitted his colleague C. Largus to retain the office for the whole year. He himself, in conjunction with others, swore to observe the

CLAUDIUS,
2.
A. D. 42.

Dion. ix.

CLAUDIUS, laws of Augustus, but did not require a similar assurance to be given respecting his own. When he resigned the office he took the same oath as other individuals, and submitted to this ceremony in all his consulships.

2.
A. D. 42.

The Moors, having renewed the war, were defeated by Suetonius Paulinus, who ravaged their country as far as Mount Atlas. Cn. Geta, who succeeded him, gained one or two victories over them, and when they retreated into the sandy country was tempted to follow them. Having consumed the water which he had carried with him, and being unable to procure a fresh supply, he was reduced to the greatest distress; for the barbarians were more inured to thirst, and from their knowledge of the country were better able to provide against it, while to his own troops it seemed equally fatal to advance or to retreat. In this difficulty he was advised by one of the natives to have recourse to incantations and magical arts, by which, it was alleged, supplies of water were often obtained. When the expedient was tried, copious showers (according to Dion) descended from Heaven, so that the Moors, imagining that their enemies were befriended by miraculous aid, voluntarily submitted to them. Claudius divided the conquered country into two divisions, named Tingitana and Cæsariensis, and placed them under the government of two knights. About the same time the neighbouring barbarians infested some parts of Namidia, but were subdued.

A grievous famine having arisen, Claudius was anxious not only to relieve the present necessity, but to prevent the recurrence of so formidable an evil. Almost all the corn which the Romans consumed, was imported from other countries; but as

Dion. lx.
Suet. v.
18, 20.

the coast near the mouth of the Tiber was dangerous and without harbours, the trade during the winter was impracticable, and they were forced to depend upon the supplies of the summer months. Claudius, therefore, resolved to form a harbour opposite Ostia, and he executed his design; although Julius Cæsar, after contemplating such a work, is said to have been deterred by its great difficulty. To make the port more secure, he built a lofty tower, which served as a light-house. The reproaches and insults of the people, on account of the dearth which they experienced, induced him to propose certain emoluments to merchants who imported corn in the winter season, and so insure them against all loss arising from tempests. He also offered great advantages to those who built vessels for the purpose of merchandize.

CLAUDIUS,
2.
A. D. 42.

The emptying of the lake Fucinus was another great undertaking commenced by Claudius this year; but the result was unsuccessful, as we shall hereafter relate.

The emperor evinced such a love for the gladiatorial combats, as appeared reprehensible even to the Romans. Numbers of men were destroyed in engagements with one another, or with wild beasts; but he appeared more lavish of human blood, than that of brute creatures. He conceived a deep abhorrence of the slaves and freedmen who had plotted against their masters under the preceding emperors, or who had been guilty of perjury and false accusations: most of these offenders were, therefore, slaughtered, or given up to the anger of their masters. So numerous were the persons who were publicly massacred, that he thought fit to remove the statue of Augustus, which was near the scene of blood, to another situation, lest it

^{2.}
CLAUDIUS, should be condemned to behold such spectacles, or
A. D. 42. to be constantly veiled ! It naturally excited the
ridicule of the citizens, to think that an insensible
statue of brass ought not to look upon scenes, in
which a living emperor delighted ! He beheld with
the highest pleasure human creatures cut to pieces
about the hour of his dinner ; but, to prove his sen-
sibility, he ordered that a lion who had been taught
to devour men, and was, therefore, a great favourite
with the people, should be put to death, because
such a sight was unfit for the Romans.

CHAPTER II.

Conspiracy of Messalina against her father-in-law Silanus.—The revolt of Scribonianus, and the cruelties consequent upon it.—Death of Arria.—Claudius abolishes a great many festivals.—Deprives the Lycians of their freedom.—Venality, licentiousness, and cruelty of Messalina.—Claudius sends an expedition into Britain.—Visits the island himself.—Is saluted Imperator, and obtains a triumph for his successes.—Vespasian distinguishes himself in that war.—Achaia and Macedonia restored to the Senate.—Cottius receives the title of King.—The Rhodians deprived of their freedom.—Death of King Agrippa, in consequence of which Cuspius Fadus is made Procurator of Judæa.—Various acts of Claudius.—Valerius Asiaticus resigns his consulship.—M. Vinicius poisoned by Messalina.—Asinius Gallus is banished for aspiring to be Emperor.—Intrigues of Messalina with Mnester the dancer.—Thrace becomes a Roman province.

CLAUDIUS having inured himself to spectacles of blood, was more ready to acquiesce in the sanguinary schemes suggested to him by Messalina and his freedmen. Whenever they wished to destroy the lives of their adversaries, they operated upon his fears, until he granted them full power for the accomplishment of their plans. Under the influence of sudden terror he often ordered the execution of persons, for whom he afterwards inquired, and regretted to learn that they were

CLAUDIUS,
2.
A. D. 42.

Dion. lx.
Suet. v. 37.

^{2.}
 CLAUDIUS, dead. The first victim of his unthinking cruelty was Appius Silanus, a man of noble family, whom he had married to the mother of Messalina, and had reckoned for a time in the number of his closest friends. But Messalina, who was actuated by the most shameless and wanton passions, having failed in enticing him to the commission of incest, resolved to be revenged for his denial, and persuaded Narcissus, one of the emperor's freedmen, to assist her in her nefarious plot. As no actual offence could be alleged against their victim, Narcissus with feigned consternation entered the chamber of Claudius before day-light, pretending that he had dreamt that the emperor had been murdered by Silanus. Messalina, assuming an appearance of great astonishment, declared that she herself had for some nights been disturbed by the same dream. While they were relating this audacious fiction, the arrival of Silanus was announced; for he had on the previous day been commanded to be present at that time. Claudius, therefore, being persuaded that his guilt was indisputable, ordered him to be put to death; and on the following day he related the occurrence to the senate, and thanked his faithful freedman, who consulted his master's safety in his very dreams!

After this instance of imbecility, the Romans no longer entertained any favourable hopes of their emperor, and several eminent persons conspired to deprive him of his authority. Among these was Marcus Minutianus,* who, having been considered a fit candidate for the imperial dignity after the death

Jos. Ant.
 xix. 4.
 Dion. lx.
 Suet. v. 13, 35.

* Dion calls him Annius Vinicianus. Josephus, from whom the name, as given above, is taken, clearly distinguishes him from that Annius Minucianus who urged Chærea not to desist from attempting the assassination of Caius. (See *ante*, page 261.)—En.

of Caius, had reason to dread the jealousy of Claudius. But as he had no military force, he sought the co-operation of Furius Camillus Scribonianus, who had also been deemed worthy of the imperial power, and who, as governor of Dalmatia, had the command of a powerful army. Scribonianus had himself been meditating a revolt; and when he resolved to hazard the attempt, he was joined by many partisans among both the knights and senators. Alluring the soldiers by the hope of liberty and the restoration of the popular government, he induced them to renounce their allegiance to the emperor. With the view of intimidating Claudius, he addressed to him a reproachful and threatening letter, commanding him to relinquish the sovereignty, and to seek the retirement of a private station; and Claudius was so far terrified, as to deliberate with the chief persons of the state, whether he ought not to comply with the demand. But the rebellion of Scribonianus was suppressed within the space of five days. For when his legions were preparing to march, the standards, either by accident or contrivance, adhered so firmly to the ground as to appear immovable; and the superstitious soldiers, interpreting this as a fatal omen, began to reflect upon the labours and perils of their enterprize, and refused to obey their commander. He fled, therefore, to the island of Issa on the coast of Dalmatia, and was killed by a private soldier named Volaginius, who was highly promoted for this acceptable action. Dion says, that he perished by a voluntary death.

CLAUDIUS,
2.
A. D. 42.

Tac. Hist. ii.
75.

Vengeance next alighted upon his accomplices, many of whom were put to death, while Minutianus and others fell by their own hands. Messalina, with Narcissus and the rest of the freedmen, com-

CLAUDIUS,
 2.
 A. D. 42.

mitted the most atrocious cruelties. Slaves were encouraged to give information against their masters; and not only foreigners, but citizens of the equestrian and senatorial orders, were put to the torture, although Claudius had sworn at the beginning of his reign, that he would not subject any free person to such a punishment. While numbers of both sexes were executed, and their bodies exposed upon the Gemonian steps, some of the most guilty were allowed to escape, if they possessed interest with Messalina and Narcissus, or were able to purchase impunity by their wealth. The only act of mercy was, that children were not involved in the punishment of their parents; and some of them even received their hereditary possessions. The investigations were conducted by Claudius in the senate house, where he was surrounded by his ministers and the prætorian præfects. Galæsus, the freedman of Scribonianus, defended himself with great boldness in his examination; and when Narcissus came forward, and inquired what he would have done, if his master had become emperor, he checked such unbecoming officiousness by replying, "I would have stood behind him, and have held my tongue."


Dion. lx.
 Plin. Ep. iii.
 16.


The conduct of Arria, the wife of Cæcinna Pætus, has been highly celebrated by the writers of antiquity. Her husband, who was a man of consular rank, having been implicated in the late revolt, was placed on board a ship, in order to be conveyed to Rome. Arria begged permission to embark with him, offering to perform, in the place of his slaves, all the offices to which he was both accustomed and entitled. On its being refused, she hired a fishing boat, and in this manner followed the vessel, in which her husband sailed. When she appeared

before Claudius, and the wife of Scribonianus offered to make disclosures respecting the plot; "Am I to listen," she said, "to you, who deign to live after your husband has been slain in your arms?" This reproach sufficiently intimated that she had calmly adopted the resolution of not surviving Pætus; although, from the friendship which she enjoyed with Messalina, she would have been suffered to live in her former rank and dignity. After the condemnation of her husband, she was carefully watched by her friends and attendants; but she perceived their intentions, and assured them, that their vigilance could not prevent her death, although it might make her die more wretchedly. To prove her words, she sprung from her seat, and violently dashed her head against the wall; and as soon as she recovered from the blow, she said to her friends: "I told you, that if you debarred me from an easy mode of death, I should discover a more painful one." Her invincible courage impelled her at last not merely to die with her husband, but to encourage him by her example; for when she observed that he hesitated at inflicting the fatal blow upon himself, she plunged a dagger into her own bosom, and drawing it forth presented it to him, saying; "Pætus, it is not painful."

CLAUDIUS,
2.
A. D. 42.

Pliny, who highly extols this action of Arria, considers that it was less noble, because she had the prospect of immortal renown before her mind; and he contends that she acted with greater magnanimity on another occasion, when she concealed the death of her son from Pætus because he was ill, ordering the funeral to be privately performed, and assuming an appearance of composure and even joy. But this heroic woman seems not to have been

CLAUDIUS, ^{2.}
 A. D. 42.  actuated by the love of glory, but by a devoted attachment to her husband. For when her son-in-law Thrasea attempted to divert her from her purpose, by asking her, "Do you wish your daughter to die with me, in case I am doomed to death;" she replied, "If she shall have lived as long with you, and in as great affection, as I have with Pætus, I do wish it." She made no allusion to the glory of such a deed, and it seems unjust to believe that she was not impelled by some more generous motive. The position, which is advanced by Pliny, that the most renowned actions are not always the greatest, is certainly true; but he is unfortunate in selecting instances from the conduct of Arria, whose heroism seems to have been chiefly grounded on an enthusiastic affection for her husband.

CLAUDIUS, ^{3.}
 A. D. 43.  Claudius having assumed his third consulship, abolished a great many sacrifices and festivals, because they occupied a considerable portion of the year, and obstructed the public business. He recalled some of the gifts which Caius had weakly and unjustly bestowed upon certain persons; and ordered that those who were elected governors of provinces should not prolong their stay at Rome, but should depart before the middle of April.

Suet. v. 25.
 Dion. ix. The Lycians, who had been guilty of violent tumults, and had killed some of the Romans, were deprived of their liberty, and incorporated into the province of Pamphylia. When one of their ambassadors, who had become a Roman citizen, was unable to understand a question which was put to him in Latin, Claudius took away his freedom, declaring that he was not qualified to be a Roman, who was ignorant of the Roman language. Many other unfit persons were also deprived of their freedom, and some, who unjustly assumed

it, were beheaded. Still the privilege became exceedingly common; for Claudius bestowed it without discrimination, and his wife and freedmen sold it so cheaply that it might be procured (as was said) for a broken glass. Nor was their venality in other respects less criminal; for not only employments in the army and the state, but things of every description were put up to sale by their shameless rapacity.

CLAUDIUS,
3.
A. D. 43.

Messalina, not satisfied with indulging her own lustful passions, compelled other women to be equally licentious, and made them prostitute themselves in the palace even in the presence of their husbands. The men who consented to this disgrace were protected and honoured; but those who refused to submit to it were persecuted and destroyed. Such atrocities, though openly committed, were concealed from Claudius, because the daring Messalina either silenced by rewards, or prevented by punishments, those who were able to make disclosures. Catonius Justus, the præfect of the prætorian guards, having intended to divulge her criminality, was put to death by her. She also killed Julia, the niece of Claudius, and grand-daughter of Tiberius; but to this crime she was instigated by jealousy.

Claudius, being ambitious of obtaining the glory of a real triumph, determined to send an expedition into Britain, which had been left unmolested by the Romans since the time of Julius Cæsar. The islanders were dissatisfied that some of their deserters had not been restored to them; and one of their exiles named Bericus instigated the emperor to undertake the invasion of their country. Aulus Plautius, an eminent senator, was entrusted with the command of the Roman troops, who expressed great reluctance at the service, as if they

Suet. v. 17.
Dion. lx.

CLAUDIUS,
 3.
 A. D. 43.

were going to carry their arms beyond the pale of the civilized world. Narcissus, the emperor's freedman, was sent to appease their anger, and he ascended the general's tribunal with the intention of haranguing them; but, instead of allowing him to speak, they ridiculed him with the cry of *Io Saturnalia*, because at the Saturnalian feast it was customary for slaves to be arrayed in the dress of their masters. They consented, however, to follow Plautius, and were separated into three divisions, in order that they might experience less obstruction in landing. In their first attempt to cross the sea, they were driven back by the weather, and began to be discouraged; but their spirits were revived by the appearance of a meteor, which traversed the heavens from the east to the west; in which direction they were going. They, therefore, set sail again, and landed without opposition, because the inhabitants, from the intelligence which they had received, did not expect their arrival.

The Britons retreated into their forests and marshes, hoping either to elude their enemies, or to weary and exhaust them by delay. Plautius, after much labour in searching for them, defeated Caractacus* and Togodumnus the sons of King Cynobellinus; and, having put them to flight, entered into a treaty with part of the Boduni, with whom he left a garrison. Advancing into the country, he found the Britons negligently stationed on the opposite side of a river, which they imagined the Romans could not pass without the aid of a bridge. But some German troops, who were accustomed to cross the most rapid streams with their arms, swam over, fell upon

* Dion calls him Cataractæus.

them unexpectedly, and, instead of attacking the men, endeavoured to disable the horses which drew the chariots. Vespasian, who was afterwards emperor, also crossed the river, and made a slaughter of the heedless barbarians. The next day, however, they rallied their forces, and fought a battle, in which neither side was victorious. A subsequent defeat compelled them to retire to the marshy lands near the mouth of the Thames, and their knowledge of the soil enabled them to cross the river without difficulty. When the Romans failed in their attempts to follow them, the German troops again swam across, and a detachment was sent to pass a bridge which was higher up the stream. These forces attacking the barbarians at different points, put them to the sword; but when they pursued them too hastily, many of them were ensnared in the marshes and destroyed. Discouraged by their difficulties, and observing that the Britons, instead of being intimidated by the death of their prince Togodumnus, were incited to avenge his fall, Plautius did not think it prudent to advance any further, but, being content with securing his conquests, dispatched a messenger to Claudius. For the emperor, who had made great preparations for the expedition, and had even collected a number of elephants, had ordered that he should be sent for, in case any difficulty arose.

Having entrusted the care of the city and the troops in it to L. Vitellius, who had been his colleague in the consulship this year, he sailed from Ostia to Marseilles, and, journeying by land to Boulogne, embarked for Britain. He found his army waiting for him on the banks of the Thames; and having crossed the river he defeated the bar-

CLAUDIUS,
3.
A. D. 43.

CLAUDIUS,
 3.
 A. D. 43.

barians, and took possession of Camalodunum, the royal residence of the late King Cynobellinus. In consequence of the successes which he gained either by arms or by treaty, he was saluted *Imperator* several times; although it was not customary for the Roman generals to take that title more than once for the same war. Having disarmed the Britons who submitted to him, and commanded Plautius to reduce the rest of the island, he hastened to Rome, sending his sons-in-law before him, as the heralds of his victory.

Tac. Agr. 13.
 Suet. Vesp. 4.

In this expedition Vespasian laid the foundation of his renown and eminent fortune. Under the command of Plautius, or the emperor, he fought thirty engagements with the enemy, conquered two powerful nations, took above twenty towns, and reduced the isle of Wight. If these achievements are not exaggerated, the resistance of the Britons must have been exceedingly vigorous.

Dion. lx,
 Suet. v. 17.

When the senate heard of the successes of Claudius, they decreed him a triumph and other honours, and also bestowed upon him the title of Britannicus. The same appellation was given to his son, and it is the one by which he was commonly distinguished.

CLAUDIUS,
 4.
 A. D. 44.

Claudius returned to Rome at the beginning of the following year, having been absent six months, of which only sixteen days were spent in Britain. He celebrated his triumph with great splendour, and among the hostile spoils hung up a naval crown, as a memorial that he had crossed the ocean, and in a manner subjected it to his sway. In order that the unconquered parts of Britain might be more easily reduced, it was decreed, that all treaties which Claudius or his lieutenants should

* Supposed to be Malden in Essex.

make, were to possess as full force, as if they had been ratified by the Roman senate and people.

The provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius had placed under his own administration, were restored to the senate by Claudius. He increased the territories which M. Julius Cottius inherited in the Cottian Alps, and gave him the title of King. The Rhodians, who had been guilty of the offence of impaling some Roman citizens, were deprived of their liberty.

The care of the treasury, which had been for some time in the hands of the prætors, was returned to the quæstors, who originally possessed it. The office, however, was not made annual, but two quæstors held it for the space of three years, and then received the prætorship as some reward for their services.

This year King Agrippa, after having killed St. James and imprisoned St. Peter, expired at Cæsarea; and the manner of his death, as related in the Acts of the Apostles, is more fully particularized by Josephus. He was exhibiting games in honour of Claudius; and on the second day of the festival, when he was to give audience to the ambassadors of Tyre and Sidon, he entered the theatre arrayed in a gorgeous robe of silver, which emitted an extraordinary splendour as it was struck by the rays of the sun. The people, when he harangued them, exclaimed that it was "the voice of a god and not of a man," and the weak monarch listened with silent satisfaction to their impious adulation. As a punishment for his arrogance he was afflicted with a severe disorder in his entrails, and began to deplore that he, whom a foolish multitude had styled immortal, would soon become the victim of inevitable death. After lingering in tor-

CLAUDIUS,

4.

A. D. 44.

Suet. v. 25.

Dion. lx.

Acts, xii.

20—23.

Jos. Ant. xix.

CLAUDIUS, ^{4.} ment for five days, he was eaten of worms, and died.
^{A. D. 44.} Claudius was disposed to give his kingdom to his
 son Agrippa, who was about seventeen years of age, and was then residing at Rome; but his freedmen persuaded him that he was too young to be invested with so arduous a dignity. Cuspius Fadus was therefore made procurator of the country, and the Jews were again condemned to be governed by Roman magistrates of inferior rank.

CLAUDIUS, ^{5.} At the beginning of the next year Claudius took
^{A. D. 45.} all the customary oaths; but he did not compel each
 Dion. lx. of the senators to swear separately, as had been done in the time of Tiberius. The ancient practice was revived, for one of the prætors, tribunes, and other magistrates to pronounce the oath in the name of himself and colleagues.

Such was the profusion of works of art at Rome, that a great many statues were removed to different situations because they encumbered the city, and it was ordered that no private person should erect any in future without the permission of the senate.

Claudius, having banished a governor who had been accused of receiving bribes, confiscated all the property that he had acquired in the administration of his province. That such offenders might not elude justice, he strictly enforced the laws, that no persons should receive one province immediately after another, and that they should not remain abroad, but return to Rome to answer any charges that might be preferred against them.

He was desirous that the senators, who wished to travel out of Italy, should ask his permission, instead of that of the senate; and a decree was passed in the following year, conferring upon him this privilege.

Being apprized that an eclipse of the sun would happen on the first of August, which was his birthday, he was afraid that the Romans might put a wrong construction upon the event, and entertain forebodings injurious to his safety. He, therefore, published an edict, announcing that such an occurrence would take place, specifying its commencement and duration, and explaining the physical causes from which it arose.

CLAUDIUS,
5.
A. D. 45.

Valerius Asiaticus, who had received the consulship for the whole year, abdicated the office before the expiration of that time. Others had adopted this course on account of their poverty, which was unable to support the immense expense of the games of the Circus, but the motives of Asiaticus were of an opposite nature. As it was his second consulship, and he was in possession of great wealth, he submitted to the humiliation in the vain hope of appeasing the envy to which he knew he was obnoxious.

CLAUDIUS,
6.
A. D. 46.
Dion lx.

M. Vinicius, an illustrious man, who had married Julia, the sister of the Emperor Caius, was living in retirement, unmolested by Claudius, on account of his mild and unambitious disposition. Messalina, however, who had contrived the death of his wife, effected his destruction also; by means of poison, in revenge for his refusal to gratify her licentious passions. Yet she did not prevent him from receiving a public funeral and panegyric; for these empty distinctions were granted to many persons.

Asinius Gallus, who was the son of the first wife of the Emperor Tiberius, conspired this year against Claudius, but was punished with exile only, instead of death. He had neither provided troops nor collected money for his great under-

CLAUDIUS, taking, but imagined that the Romans would voluntarily receive him as emperor on account of his birth. This infatuation, together with his mean stature and deformed appearance, made him an object of ridicule rather than danger, and were supposed to be the reasons why so light a sentence was inflicted upon him.

Suet. v. 25.
Dion. lx.

Claudius expressed great indignation at freedmen, who brought actions against their former masters; and he ordered that those who were guilty of ingratitude, or gave their patrons sufficient cause to complain of their conduct, should again be reduced to slavery. The people, however, were grieved to observe that he himself lived in the most abject subserviency to his freedmen and to Messalina. The audacious criminality of this woman was manifest to every one in Rome, but him who was most concerned to know it. In a gladiatorial combat, when Claudius and others wished that a certain Sabinus should be put to death, Messalina saved his life, because he was one of her paramours. She enjoyed the company of Mnester, a celebrated dancer, with so little reserve, that she used to detain him from his performances on the stage; and when the people complained of his absence, Claudius would protest, that he was not the cause of it. They were convinced that his ignorance was real, and lamented that he alone was unacquainted with occurrences in his own palace, of which the rumour had been propagated even into hostile countries. Dion relates that Mnester at first strenuously rejected the advances of Messalina, until she applied to Claudius, and requested him to use his authority over him, and command him not to disobey her. The credulous emperor, not knowing the purpose

for which his influence was required, enjoined him that he was not to disregard her wishes. Thus sanctioned by the apparent permission of her husband, she was no longer repulsed by Mnester; and she practised a similar artifice in her amours with many other persons.

CLAUDIUS,
6.
A. D. 46.

Thrace, which had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of being governed by its own kings, was now reduced into a Roman province; but the particulars of this change are not recorded in history.

Hier. Chr.

A new island* arose in the Ægean sea, during an eclipse of the moon, which happened on the last night of the year.

* Seneca (Quæst. Nat. vi. 21.) calls it Therasia. This name it received from rising out of the sea in the immediate neighbourhood of Thera, one of the Cyclades. Dion (lx.) says: ἀνεφάνη δὲ καὶ νησιδίον τι ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ παρὰ τῇ Θήρᾳ τῇ νήσῳ, οὐκ ὄν πρότερον.—ED.

CHAPTER III.

Censorship of Claudius.—Celebration of the sæcular games.—Partiality of the people for the young Domitius.—Claudius protects the deserted slaves.—Messalina effects the destruction of Valerius Asiaticus for the sake of his gardens, and causes Poppæa to put herself to death.—Advocates are restricted in their fees, on account of their venality and treachery.—Claudius introduces for a time three new letters into the Roman language.—Contests between Gotarzes and Bardanes for the sovereignty of Parthia.—Mithridates recovers the kingdom of Armenia.—Aulus Plautius is honoured with an ovation.—Italicus is chosen king of the Cherusci.—Corbulo, having gained some successes over the Germans, is not allowed to prosecute the war.—Some account of Curtius Rufus.—Claudius allows the Gauls to sit in the senate, and replenishes the patrician families.—Messalina openly marries C. Silius, while her husband is at Ostia.—Narcissus discloses her guilt to Claudius, and causes her to be put to death.—The insensibility of the emperor.

CLAUDIUS,
7.
A. D. 47.

Dion. lx.
Suet. v. 16.
Vit. Vitell. 2.

CLAUDIUS, this year, was invested with the censorship as well as the consulship, and in both these offices L. Vitellius, the father of the emperor of that name, was his colleague. He removed some persons from their senatorial rank, most of whom willingly resigned it on account of their poverty, and he elected many others in their place. His conduct, though in some respects commendable,

was marked, as usual, by irregularity and weakness. He degraded some persons for leaving Italy without his knowledge, and punished an individual for keeping company with a king in one of the provinces. He issued twenty edicts in a single day: in one of them he advised that the casks should be well pitched in a fruitful grape season, and in another he recommended the sap of the yew tree as the best remedy for the bite of a viper!

CLAUDIUS,
7.
A. D. 47.

The eight hundredth year since the foundation of Rome having now arrived, Claudius thought proper to celebrate the sæcular games; and if they were to be observed every century, his determination was certainly right. Augustus, however, had kept them not more than sixty-four years before this time; but Claudius alleged that they had been unduly anticipated by him. It was usual for the herald, who proclaimed them, to announce that they were games which no one living had seen before, or would see again; but the annunciation this time was untrue, as some of the spectators and actors, who had been present at the celebration of them by Augustus, were still surviving. L. Vitellius, who thought no flattery too gross to utter, when congratulating Claudius, expressed a wish that he might *often* celebrate them.

Tac. Ann. xi.
11.
Suet. v. 21.
Vit. Vitell. 2.

In the amusements of the circus, when the young nobles performed the game of *Troy*, the emperor's son Britannicus, and L. Domitius (who was afterwards the Emperor Nero) appeared among the rest; and it was remarked that the people seemed to show greater partiality for Domitius, than for the lawful heir of the empire. This preference arose from their regard for the memory of his grandfather Germanicus, whose sole male descendant he was, and from commiser-

CLAUDIUS, ^{7.} _{A. D. 47.} action for his mother Agrippina, who was the victim of Messalina's hatred.

Dion. lx.
Suet. v. 25.

Claudius generously interfered in behalf of the wretched slaves, who were driven from the houses of their masters on account of illness, and exposed on the island of Æsculapius, in the Tiber. He commanded that all who were thus treated should, in case of their recovery, be declared free, and that if masters killed their sick slaves, in order to get rid of them, they should be judged guilty of murder.

Senec. Apoc.
Claud.
Tac. Ann. xi.
1, 4.

His other actions by no means accorded with these humane regulations. For he put to death Cn. Pompeius Magnus, who had married his eldest daughter Antonia, together with his father, mother, and other relations. Several insignificant persons who were accused of conspiring against him, were dismissed with impunity; but Valerius Asiaticus, both on account of his own wealth and the power of his adversaries, was doomed to experience a severer fate. The splendid gardens which were in his possession had excited the cupidity of Messalina; and in order to acquire them, she suborned persons to remind Claudius of the part which Asiaticus had taken in the assassination of the Emperor Caius, to inspire him with a jealousy of his influence at Rome and renown in the provinces, and to accuse him of an intention to excite the German armies to revolt, by means of the powerful alliances which he had contracted abroad. In consequence of these allegations, the prætorian præfect was dispatched with a body of soldiers to apprehend Asiaticus; and, having found him at Baiæ, he conducted him in chains to Rome.

The charges against him were heard not in the

senate, but in the chamber of Claudius, while Messalina was present. He defended himself in so powerful a manner, that Claudius was greatly affected, and Messalina even shed tears; but she was so far from relenting in her purpose, that, as she left the room, she charged Vitellius not to allow the criminal to escape. Asiaticus protested that he was totally unacquainted with the witnesses who were produced against him. A soldier, therefore, who pretended to be one of his accomplices, was ordered to point out which man in the assembly was Asiaticus; but instead of selecting the right, he fixed upon a bald person who was standing near, as he knew no more than that the accused was of that description. This blunder excited laughter, and almost induced Claudius to acquit the prisoner. But while he was deliberating, the perfidious Vitellius appeared before him. After expatiating with hypocritical sympathy upon the services of Asiaticus towards the state, and his ancient friendship with himself, Vitellius pretended that he was instructed to solicit, as a last boon, that the accused might be permitted to die what kind of death he pleased. Claudius, construing this as a confession of his guilt, relinquished all further thoughts of pardon, but granted the favour which Vitellius requested. Asiaticus, after taking his customary exercises, and dining in a cheerful manner, opened his veins, declaring that he should have deemed it more honourable to die by the subtilty of Tiberius or the violence of Caius, than to be the victim of the deceitful Messalina and the shameless Vitellius. Before he put himself to death, he inspected his funeral pile, and directed it to be removed to another place, in order that the fire might not destroy the thick and umbrageous trees.

CLAUDIUS,

7.
A. D. 47.

CLAUDIUS,
 7.
 A. D. 47.

Poppæa, who was accused of an adulterous intercourse with Asiaticus, was persuaded by the emissaries of Messalina to destroy herself, in order to escape the terrors of imprisonment. Claudius was so ignorant of her fate, that when her husband Scipio was dining with him a few days afterwards, he asked him why he had come without his wife; and he replied that she was dead. The same Scipio, when he was compelled to give his opinion in the senate respecting the proceedings in which she was implicated, ingeniously compromised between his affection as a husband, and his duty as a senator, by saying: "Since I think the same as you all of the offences of Poppæa, be pleased to imagine that I say the same."

Tac. Ann. xi.
 5-7.

As honours and emoluments were liberally bestowed by Claudius upon public accusers, their number increased to a dangerous extent. The evil was aggravated by the conduct of the advocates, who not only made their services venal, but deceived their clients with the basest perfidy. An illustrious knight named Samius, having purchased the aid of Suilius for a large sum, found that he was betrayed by him, and was impelled by despair to kill himself in the house of the treacherous advocate. To oppose such profligacy, some of the senators demanded that the Cincian law should be put in execution, as it prohibited any one from receiving money or presents for pleading causes. They appealed to the example of the ancient orators, who considered fame to be the most noble reward of their eloquence; and they contended that injustice, litigation, and animosity were fomented by the mercenary passions of the advocates. Suilius and his friends replied, that persons who neglected their private affairs to undertake the causes of

others were as much entitled to reward, as those who engaged in agriculture or in war; that it was easy for a few fortunate or wealthy citizens to labour for fame alone, but that the exertions of ordinary men must be cherished by the prospect of a just recompense. Claudius, having listened to the arguments of both sides, decided that advocates might be allowed to accept fees to a certain amount*: if they exceeded this, they were to be held guilty of extortion.

CLAUDIUS,
7.
A. D. 47.

The authority of Claudius effected an alteration in the Roman alphabet. He had published a book upon this subject, when he was a private individual, and had now sufficient influence to procure the general adoption of three new letters which he recommended†. After his death, however, they fell into disuse, although they were to be seen for some time in books and public inscriptions. It seemed too late to amend the Roman alphabet, after it had for centuries answered all the purposes of legislation, foreign conquest, and literature.

Suet. v. 41.
Tac. Ann. xi.
14.

The East was agitated with contests between two competitors for the sovereignty of Parthia. Gotarzes having gained the crown by the murder of his father‡ Artabanus, and of his wife and son, became odious to the Parthians on account of his suspicious and tyrannical mode of government, and they, therefore, invited his brother Bardanes to usurp his place. This prince promptly obeyed the call, and, having arrived from a distance of three thousand furlongs in two days,§ surprised

Tac. Ann. xi.
8—10.

* *Dena sestertia*, which equalled about eighty pounds.

† One of these is supposed to have been the digamma, to serve for V consonant, for which the Romans had no distinct character; and another, the antisigma, to correspond to the Greek ψ. The third most probably was likewise derived from the Greek.

‡ Tacitus calls him his brother; but the authority of Josephus, (Ant. xx. 3,) and the circumstances of the history, prove that this is an error.

§ Biduo tria millia stadiorum inuadit.

CLAUDIUS, ^{7.} Gotarzes and put him to flight. He occupied
 A. D. 47. without delay the adjoining provinces, and found
 his authority acknowledged by all but the people
 of Seleucia. The resistance of this city, which had
 for some years been in revolt against his father,
 provoked him to lay siege to it, although it was
 strongly situated on the river Tigris, and well sup-
 plied with provisions. In the mean time Gotarzes,
 having recruited his forces, was enabled to renew
 the war, so that Bardanes found it necessary to
 raise the siege of Seleucia, and advanced to meet
 him in the plains of Bactriana. But instead of
 contesting the empire by arms, the two princes
 unexpectedly entered into a treaty, having disco-
 vered that their countrymen had formed some
 treacherous designs against them. They embraced
 one another, and swore before the altars to punish
 the perfidy of their enemies; after which, Gotarzes
 resigned the sovereignty to his brother, and to
 prevent all grounds of jealousy and suspicion,
 withdrew into the interior of Hyrcania. On his
 return Bardanes received the submission of the
 city of Seleucia, after it had for seven years defied
 the power of the Parthian kings.

In consequence of these disturbances, Mithri-
 dates, who had been deprived of the kingdom of
 Armenia, was encouraged by Claudius to attempt
 the recovery of his power; nor had he much diffi-
 culty in succeeding, as he was supported by the
 troops of his brother Pharasmanes, king of Iberia,
 as well as those of the Romans. Bardanes was
 desirous of attacking Armenia, but the threats of
 Vibius Marsus, the lieutenant of Syria, compelled
 him to desist. He was also engaged in another
 contest with his brother Gotarzes, who had repented
 of his abdication of the kingdom, and had been

recalled by some of the nobles, as they found themselves more oppressed in time of peace than in war. But Bardanes defeated him, and pursued such a career of victory, that the Parthians were reluctant to follow him so far from their homes. He returned, therefore, after having erected monuments in commemoration of the successes which he had gained over nations never before rendered tributary to the Arsacidæ. His warlike glory made him still more fierce and intolerable to his subjects, so that they conspired against him, and slew him while he was hunting. Although he perished in early youth, yet few aged kings would have surpassed him in renown, if he had known how to gain the affection of his countrymen as well as to inspire terror into his enemies. His death involved the Parthians in fresh discord; for though many of them favoured Gotarzes, some were desirous of being ruled by Meherdates, the grandson of Phraates, who was a hostage among the Romans. Gotarzes prevailed, but the cruelty and luxury which he exhibited soon made the Parthians anxious to depose him.

CLAUDIUS,
7.
A. D. 47.

Aulus Plautius, on account of his successes in Britain, was honoured with an ovation. On his entrance into the city, Claudius went out to meet him, and also accompanied him in his progress to the Capitol, and on his return.

Dion. lx.
Suet. v. 24.

The Cherusci having lost many of their nobility by internal discord, condescended to solicit a prince from Rome, where Italicius, the only survivor of the family of their kings, had fixed his residence. He was the nephew of the celebrated Arminius, and was qualified to win the favour of the barbarians by his graceful appearance, and by his skill in the warlike exercises both of the Romans and his own

Tac. Ann. xi.
16, 17.

CLAUDIUS, countrymen. Claudius supplied him with money
 and guards, and exhorted him to behave with
 magnanimity and courage, as he had lived at
 Rome in the character of a citizen and not of a
 hostage, and was now going to take possession
 of the throne of his ancestors. He was joyfully re-
 ceived by the Germans, and as he was not infected
 with the spirit of any of their factions, he exercised
 the same impartial justice towards all; neither
 were his virtues so strict, that he could not accom-
 modate himself to the tastes of the barbarians by
 indulgence in wine, and other gross pleasures.
 The parties, however, whose prosperity depended
 upon tumult and discord, viewed his elevation with
 jealousy, and endeavoured to excite the neigh-
 bouring people to revolt, by representing that the
 liberty of Germany was destroyed by the admis-
 sion of a king like Italicus, who had been born in
 a foreign country, and was thoroughly imbued with
 the principles and habits of foreigners. By such
 appeals a powerful faction was raised against him;
 but his adherents were numerous, and a great
 battle, which was fought between the contending
 parties, gave him the pre-eminence. His pros-
 perity afterwards betrayed him into arrogance,
 and he was expelled from his kingdom; but he
 recovered it by the aid of the Langobardi.

Tac. Ann. xi.
 18—20.

About the same time the Chauci, encouraged by
 the death of the Roman commander Sanquinius,
 made an incursion into Lower Germany, and rav-
 aged the banks of the Rhine with their light ves-
 sels. Cn. Domitius Corbulo, who was sent to oppose
 them, actively equipped a number of triremes and
 boats, by which he routed the forces of the bar-
 barians, and obliged them to flee. Having repelled
 the most imminent danger, he endeavoured to restore

a strict discipline among his own troops, who were unused to labour, and delighted to lead an irregular and predatory mode of life. He commanded them to perform all their duties in arms, and is reported to have put a soldier to death merely for digging the entrenchment without them. His severity, while it improved the valour of his own men, checked the audacity of the Germans. For the Frisii, who for many years had paid but little submission to the Romans, settled in the territories which he marked out for them, gave him hostages, and received even laws and magistrates from his authority. The Chauci were invited to surrender, and a plot was concerted, by which their leader Gannascus, who had deserted from the Roman armies, was put to death. But just as Corbulo was flattered with the prospect of success, and was laying out his camp in the country of his enemies, he received letters commanding him to lead back his troops across the Rhine. The emperor's jealousy of him, or fear of the Germans, dictated these orders; and Corbulo, in obeying them, expressed his grief merely by remarking, how happy the ancient Roman generals were! He furnished occupation for his troops by digging a canal, for the distance of three-and-twenty miles, between the Meuse and the Rhine, in order to prevent those rivers from inundating the surrounding country. Although he was debarred the glory of prosecuting the war, he received the triumphal honours.

CLAUDIUS,
7.
A. D. 47.

Curtius Rufus, who apparently succeeded him, soon afterwards enjoyed the same distinction; although his origin was so mean, that Tacitus declares he was ashamed to record it. A miraculous story is related of this Rufus. It is alleged

Tac. Ann. xi.
21.

CLAUDIUS,

7.
A. D. 47.

that while he was in the service of the quæstor of Africa, having retired in the middle of the day to the empty porticoes in the town of Adrumetum, a woman of more than mortal stature appeared before him, announcing that he should one day be proconsul of that province. Encouraged by this prodigy he returned to Rome, where the favour of his friends and his own abilities procured for him the quæstorship. Tiberius afterwards gave him the prætorship, apologizing for the meanness of his extraction by remarking, "Curtius Rufus seems to me to have been born from himself." As he was not deficient in adulation towards his superiors, he gained the consulship and the triumphal honours, and at last fulfilled the prediction of his supernatural visitor, by receiving the proconsulship of Africa, in which office he died. Some persons have imagined him to be the same Quintus Curtius, that wrote the history of Alexander the Great; but the silence of Tacitus upon this subject does not seem to favour such a supposition.

CLAUDIUS,

8.

A. D. 48.

Tac. Ann. xi.
23—25.

In the following year, when it was in agitation to replenish the numbers of the senate, the chief men of Gaul petitioned that they might have the privilege of belonging to that illustrious body. This request excited a warm discussion, and the opponents of it argued, that Italy was not so weak as to be unable to supply senators for its capital; that the Gauls, who had been the most dangerous enemies of Rome, ought to be satisfied with the rights of citizens which they possessed, and not aspire to the authority of magistrates, and the dignity of fathers. But Claudius advocated the opposite side, declaring that it had always been the principle of the Romans to treat conquered people as citizens and friends, and that it was

better that the Gauls, who were already united to them by affinity, and by arts and manners, should enrich the city by the influx of their wealth, than appropriate all their advantages to themselves. His opinion having prevailed, it was decreed that Gauls might sit in the senate, and the Ædui were the first who enjoyed that honour, on account of their ancient alliance and amity with the Romans. Claudius also elected the most illustrious of the senators into the patrician families; as not only the more ancient ones, but even those, which had been created by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, were nearly extinct. Instead of expelling the unworthy members of the senate, he advised them voluntarily to resign their seats; and in acknowledgment of this and other acts, Vipsanius the consul proposed that he should receive the title of *Father of the Senate*, as that of *Father of his Country* had become too common. Claudius, however, rejected this mark of adulation.

CLAUDIUS,
8.
A. D. 48.

Messalina, after having freely indulged in all the ordinary gratifications of licentiousness and extravagance, finished her career by a most daring and unprecedented act of criminality. She had fixed her affections upon C. Silius, a young man of noble family, remarkable for dignity of form and vigour of mind, and who had been nominated by her influence as one of the consuls elect. After pursuing their amours with some degree of secrecy, Silius, urged by infatuation or by the hope of rescuing himself from his state of imminent peril, advised that they should no longer observe any concealment in the indulgence of their crimes. He declared that nothing but fearless audacity could protect them in their wickedness; and as he was unmarried, he offered to unite himself to Messa-

Tac. Ann. xi.
26, 27.
Dion. lx.
Suet. v. 29.

CLAUDIUS, ^{B.}
 A. D. 48. { lina, to adopt her son Britannicus, and to secure her in her present state of grandeur and power. "She was slow in listening to his proposals, not because she was deterred by any principles of virtue, or any regard for her husband; but she foresaw that Silius, when he had gained the summit of power, would probably spurn his guilty associate, and though he acquiesced in her wickedness during the crisis of danger, would afterwards view it with abhorrence. The plan, however, of a double marriage pleased her even by its singular atrocity, and she consented to be formally united to Silius as soon as the absence of her husband, who was going upon some business to Ostia, would allow her. The marriage contract was signed by the proper persons, and even Claudius himself is said to have put his hand to it, being deceived by the pretence that it was necessary to avert some omen by which he was threatened with danger. On the appointed day, all the nuptial ceremonies were regularly performed; Messalina offered sacrifices to the gods, received guests to her bridal entertainment, and bestowed upon Silius all the rights of a husband. These proceedings were known to all the people of Rome, and openly talked of; and although they appear so extraordinary as to be almost incredible, yet Tacitus declares that he had recorded nothing upon the subject, but what was fully authenticated.

Tac. Ann. xi.
 28—38.

The emperor's freedmen were greatly alarmed by the marriage of Messalina, as they foresaw that such an event would naturally be followed by the overthrow of their own power. As long as an actor, like Mnester, dishonoured the prince's bed, nothing but disgrace was incurred; but real danger was to be apprehended, both to themselves

and their master, from an aspiring paramour like Silius. Three of them, therefore, Callistus, Pallas, and Narcissus, deliberated among themselves whether they should not endeavour by secret threats to deter Messalina from her attachment to Silius. • But the indolence of Pallas made him averse to such a plan; and Callistus, who had been a freedman of Caius, and been concerned in the conspiracy against him, was cautious in encountering danger. Narcissus, though deserted by his colleagues, was not discouraged, but formed the resolution of destroying Messalina by his own stratagems. Carefully abstaining from all language that could apprize her of his intentions, he watched for the most favourable opportunity of acquainting Claudius, who prolonged his stay at Ostia, with the turpitude of her conduct. He at last effected his purpose by means of two of the emperor's concubines, who were induced by presents and the prospect of increasing their own influence, to undertake the disclosure. One of them named Calpurnia, falling at the emperor's feet, assured him that Messalina was married to Silius; she appealed to her companion for the corroboration of the fact, and advised that Narcissus should be sent for. The freedman apologized to his master for having concealed the truth so long, but informed him that the people, the senate, and the soldiers were all witnesses of the marriage of Silius, who would soon be in possession of the city, unless decisive measures were adopted. Claudius, having summoned his friends, received from them the same amazing intelligence, and was advised to hasten to the prætorian camp, and consult his safety before he gratified his revenge. He was so terrified, that he asked from time to time, whether

CLAUDIUS,
8.
A. D. 48.

CLAUDIUS, he was still emperor, and whether Silius had not usurped his place?

8.
A. D. 48.

Messalina, abandoned to her usual course of luxury, was amusing herself at home with the representation of the scenes of a vintage, as it was now the season of autumn. Her female attendants, arrayed in skins, danced like the furious Bacchanalians; while Messalina carrying the thyrsus, and Silius crowned with ivy, indulged in all the pleasures of the wanton throng. Their mirth was destroyed by an unfortunate omen. One of the company, who had ascended a high tree, being asked what he saw, replied, *A dreadful storm from Ostia*; although it is uncertain whether he described the literal truth, or his words accidentally presaged the evils that were approaching. Not merely rumours, but undoubted intelligence arrived, that Claudius was acquainted with the whole truth, and was coming with the resolution of exacting vengeance. Messalina and Silius, dissembling their fear as well as they could, separated from each other; and as their companions dispersed, some of them were apprehended by the centurions, and thrown into prison. Messalina resolved to go and meet Claudius, as she knew the ascendancy she possessed over him, and had often found that an interview with him had extricated her from her difficulties. She commanded her children, Britannicus and Octavia, to throw themselves into the arms of their father, and entreated Vibidia, the eldest of the vestal virgins, to implore mercy for her. Accompanied by three attendants, for all others had deserted her, she traversed the city on foot, and proceeded on the road to Ostia in a cart which was used for carrying away the rubbish of gardens. The indignation excited by her atrocious

crimes extinguished all pity for the wretchedness of her condition.

CLAUDIUS,
8.
A. D. 48.

Claudius was still perplexed with hesitation and fear, as he was unable to place full confidence in Lucius Geta, who was præfect of the prætorian guards. Narcissus, supported by those who had the same apprehensions as himself, declared that there was no hope, unless the emperor granted the command of the troops for that day to one of his freedmen, and he himself offered to undertake the charge. That his plans might not be frustrated by the vacillation of Claudius, or the influence of others, he took a seat in the carriage that was to convey the emperor to Rome. When Messalina met them on the road, she claimed an audience for the mother of Octavia and Britannicus; but Narcissus, upbraiding her with her adulterous marriage, prevented her from being heard. As they entered Rome the emperor's children would have presented themselves before him, if Narcissus had not commanded them to be removed. He could not so easily repulse Vibidia, who demanded that the empress should not be condemned without a hearing: this indulgence was promised, and the vestal was ordered to attend to her sacred duties.

During all this time Claudius was absorbed in silence. Narcissus assumed absolute authority, and ordered him to be conducted to the house of Silius, where he showed him his own ancient and costly furniture, which Messalina had transferred to the possession of his rival. Having provoked his anger by this sight, he led him to the prætorian camp; and the soldiers, after a short address from their emperor, demanded that those, who had so audaciously dishonoured him, should be duly punished. Silius, when he was apprehended,

CLAUDIUS,
 8.
 A. D. 48.

did not presume to offer any defence, but solicited that he might be speedily put to death. Some eminent knights were equally ready to undergo their fate, and the execution of Messalina's accomplices and paramours proceeded with rapidity. Mnestor alone supplicated for mercy, protesting that the crime of which he had been guilty was imposed upon him by necessity. Claudius would have pardoned him, if he had not been prevented by his freedman, who declared that it made little difference whether offences of such magnitude were compulsory or not, and that it would be inconsistent to show to an actor the clemency which had been denied to so many illustrious citizens.

In the meantime, Messalina had retired to the gardens of Lucullus, which she had obtained by the unjust death of Valerius Asiaticus, and which were now to be the scene of her own execution.* Her haughty spirit was by no means overcome, and she would probably have changed the aspect of affairs, and gained the victory over her opponents, if Narcissus had not acted with the promptest decision. For when Claudius returned home, and his anger began to be mitigated by the pleasures of the banquet, he gave orders that that wretched woman (as he styled her) should be commanded to prepare for her defence on the following day. Narcissus, aware of his imbecility, and afraid of the consequences of his reviving affection, instantly commanded the tribune who was on guard to put Messalina to death, pretending that such were the emperor's orders. Evodus, one of the freedmen, was sent to witness

* Jezebel killed by the wall of Jezreel; and Messalina killed in the garden of Lucullus, seem to form a tolerably close parallel. Both their victims, Naboth and Asiaticus, were destroyed by perjury.

the execution of the sentence. He found her stretched on the ground, and attended by her mother Lepida, who, though at variance with her in the time of her guilty prosperity, had not abandoned her in the hour of her affliction and disgrace. She was exhorting her daughter not to wait for the blow of the executioner, but, as her life was at an end, to die with all the dignity she could. But the mind of Messalina, debased by sensual indulgences, was incapable of any powerful effort, and she prolonged the time in fruitless lamentations and tears, until Evodus and the tribune appeared before her. Sensible of her impending fate, she seized a sword, and applied it with trembling hand to her throat and breast; but her courage not being sufficient to consummate the fatal deed, she was at last stabbed by the tribune.

Claudius was still feasting, when he was informed that Messalina was dead, although it was not explained to him, whether she had perished by her own hand or another's. Forbearing to make any enquiry upon the subject, he called for the cup, and continued the usual festivities of the banquet. On the following days he exhibited a perfect insensibility, appearing free from every kind of emotion, both when he saw the accusers of Messalina exulting at her death, and his own children lamenting it. Such was his obliviousness, that one day, after he had placed himself at table, he is said to have asked, why the empress did not come; and it was usual for him, after he had put persons to death, to enquire for them and complain of their absence.

The quæstorian honours were bestowed upon Narcissus, who had certainly evinced great dexterity and firmness in the management of a

CLAUDIUS,
8.
A. D. 48.

Suet. v. 30.

Tac. Ann. xi.
38.

CLAUDIUS, ^{8.}
 A. D. 48. } perilous undertaking. The body of Messalina was not treated with ignominy, but was surrendered to her mother: the senate, however, decreed that her name should be effaced, and her statues removed from all places, both private and public. She was the third wife that Claudius had married, and was the daughter of his cousin, Valerius Messala Barbatus. Her cruelty alone would have rendered her sufficiently odious, but her lustful passions have attached still blacker infamy to her name.

Juv. Sat. vi.
 114; x. 330.

Juvenal has freely described the manner in which she used to spend the night in public brothels; and the same satirist represents Silius to have been a man of virtuous character, until his beauty made him a prey to the arts of Messalina, and entangled him in desperate guilt and wretchedness. .

CHAPTER IV.

Claudius fixes his affections upon his niece Agrippina, who causes the disgrace of Silanus the Emperor's intended son-in-law.—Marriages between uncles and nieces are declared legal by the Senate, and Claudius unites himself to Agrippina.—Silanus put to death.—Agrippina recalls Seneca from exile, and causes Octavia to be betrothed to her son Domitius.—Destroys her rival Lollia Paulina.—Claudius extends the circumference of the city, and expels the Jews from Rome.—Parthian ambassadors come to Rome to solicit Meherdates for their king, who is defeated by Gotarzes.—Mithridates having in vain attempted to recover his kingdom of the Bosphorus, surrenders himself to Eunones, and is sent captive to Rome.—Agrippina's son is adopted by Claudius, and she herself receives the title of Augusta.—She sends a colony to Cologne.—The Catti repulsed by L. Pomponius.—Vannius, King of the Suevi, expelled from his dominions.—P. Ostorius, the proprætor of Britain, defeats the Icenii.—Captures King Caractacus, who is sent to Rome, and pardoned by Claudius.—The Britons gain some successes over the Romans.—Ostorius dies, and is succeeded by Didius.—War between Cartismandua and her husband Venusius.

CLAUDIUS publicly declared before the prætorian guards, that, as he had been so unfortunate in the married state, he would never enter into it again ;

CLAUDIUS,
8.
A. D. 48.

CLAUDIUS, 8.
 A. D. 48.
 Suet. v. 26.
 Tac. Ann. xii.
 1—9.
 Dion. lx.

and that if he did, he would give them permission to kill him. But immediately after the death of Messalina, his freedmen began to dispute for the privilege of choosing a wife for him; and the females who were ambitious of becoming the imperial consort eagerly advanced the claims of nobility, wealth, and beauty, upon which they relied. *Ælia Petina*, his second wife, who had been divorced for some trifling cause, was now recommended by *Narcissus*. *Callistus* supported *Lollia Paulina*, who had been one of the wives of the Emperor *Caius*. But *Pallas* advocated the cause of *Agrippina*, who was the daughter of *Germanicus*, and the niece of *Claudius* himself; and the familiar intercourse, and the free caresses in which she was indulged on account of her relation to the emperor, succeeded in winning his affections, and giving her the pre-eminence over every other rival. She is described as beautiful, and even as young; although she had been married twenty years before to *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, by whom she had a son called *Domitius*, but better known by the name of *Nero*. She exercised over *Claudius* the influence of a wife, even before she enjoyed the actual title; and no sooner was she confident of being united to him, than her ambitious hopes began to expand, and she conceived the design of marrying her son *Nero* to his daughter *Octavia*. Although *Octavia* had been for some time betrothed to *L. Silanus*, a young man of high birth and character, it did not seem difficult to overcome this impediment, by operating upon the facility of *Claudius*, who had no partialities nor dislikes but what were impressed upon him by others. The artful *Vitellius*, foreseeing the ascendancy which *Agrippina* was likely to obtain,

and anxious to secure her favour, insinuated into the ear of Claudius, that Silanus was too much attached to his own sister Junia Calvina. The calumny was believed, and Silanus was suddenly removed from the senate by the authority of Vitellius, who was censor, his contract with Octavia was annulled, and he was compelled to resign the prætorship which he was holding, although it would have legally terminated in a day or two by the expiration of the year.

CLAUDIUS,
8.
A. D. 48.

Messalina had not died until late in autumn; yet at the beginning of the following year, the marriage between Claudius and Agrippina was fully agreed upon, and even forestalled by their illicit amours. They were afraid, however, of celebrating their nuptials, because there was no precedent of such a marriage among the Romans, and it was apprehended that the incest, if contemptuously committed, might become the cause of some public calamity. The base Vitellius, having devoted himself to the accomplishment of their wishes, asked Claudius whether he would submit to the commands of the people, and the authority of the senate; and when the emperor replied, that he considered himself but as one of the citizens, Vitellius requested him to wait in his palace, while he himself went to the senate. Having requested leave from the fathers to address them upon a topic of the highest importance, he declared that the burdensome labours of the prince required the solaces of conjugal attention and endearment; that, as it was necessary for him to marry, Agrippina would be the fittest consort, on account of her great qualities and her illustrious birth; that although it was a new thing among them for uncles to be united to their nieces, yet it was not

CLAUDIUS,
9.
A. D. 49.

CLAUDIUS, ^{9.}
 A. D. 49. unusual among other nations; that marriages between cousins-german, though at first unknown to the Romans, had in time become familiar to them; and that customs in general were adopted in accommodation to the welfare and convenience of mankind.

These lax sentiments were readily approved by those corrupt senators, who had been suborned for the purpose; and the most zealous of them protested, that if Claudius did not accede to their wishes, they would constrain him. A crowd of plebeians also assembled together, exclaiming that the Roman people were desirous of the same event. Claudius, without further delay, presented himself in the forum to receive the congratulations of the citizens, and having entered the senate-house desired that a decree might be passed, declaring marriages between uncles and nieces to be in future legal. On the next day he solemnized his nuptials with Agrippina; but not more than one or two persons availed themselves of the incestuous licence which his example and the authority of the senate bestowed upon them. The appearance of the state was suddenly changed, and the Romans found themselves in subjection to a woman, who did not insult them, like Messalina, with unbridled lasciviousness, but governed them with a firm and undaunted tyranny. Her external conduct was severe, and generally haughty; and even in private she indulged in no irregularity or licentiousness, but what was subservient to her ambitious projects. Her avarice was unbounded; and while she adopted the basest expedients for its gratification, she veiled it under the pretext of augmenting the resources of the imperial power.

On the day of her marriage Silanus put himself to death. Tacitus supposes that he might have selected that day in order to aggravate the odious atrocity of her conduct; but Suetonius speaks of his death as compulsory. On the same day a great number of senators and knights were punished with such heedless indifference, that when the centurion came to report the death of a man of consular rank, Claudius denied that he had given any order to that effect: he approved, however, of the action, when his freedmen remarked, that the soldiers had done right in spontaneously avenging their emperor. Calvina, the sister of Silanus, was banished from Italy, and Claudius ordered expiation to be made in the grove of Diana for their alleged incest; but every one ridiculed such ceremonies at a time when he himself was publicly committing a real offence of that nature. As an exception to her unpopular actions, Agrippina recalled the famous Seneca from banishment, knowing the reputation which he enjoyed for his learning and philosophy. She also raised him to the prætorship, and entrusted him with the education of her son Domitius, as she was desirous of being assisted by his counsel in her plans for aspiring to the supreme power. She calculated that the remembrance of her favours would attach him to her interests, as the sense of injury had alienated him from Claudius.

Impatient for the aggrandizement of her son, she induced Memmius Póllio, one of the consuls elect, to propose in the senate, that the emperor should betroth his daughter Octavia to the young Domitius. No opposition being offered, the affiancement was made; and Domitius, who was in his twelfth year, was placed on an equality with Britannicus, not

CLAUDIUS,
9.
A. D. 49.
Suet. v. 29.
Tac. Ann. xii.
8, 9.

CLAUDIUS, 10.
A. D. 50.
Dion. lx.
Tac. Ann. xii.
22—24.

only through the influence of his mother, but also through the policy of those who, having killed Messulina, were afraid of the vengeance of her son. Agrippina, incensed with malicious jealousy against Lollia, because she had aspired to the hand of Claudius, accused her of resorting to astrologers, and consulting the oracle of the Clarian Apollo upon the subject of the emperor's marriage. Claudius did not permit Lollia to defend herself, but, after expatiating in the senate upon her illustrious family, declared that her offences ought to be punished with confiscation of her property, and banishment from Italy. A still severer sentence was executed, as a tribune was sent to put her to death. Her head was carried to Agrippina, and as she could not at first identify it, she satisfied her scruples by opening the mouth, and inspecting the teeth, which had something peculiar in their construction. Another illustrious woman, named Calpurnia, became the object of her vengeance, because the emperor had praised her beauty; but as the commendation was innocent and accidental, she abstained from putting her to death.


Claudius, lightening the restrictions imposed upon the senators by Augustus, suffered them to visit their property in Gallia Narbonensis, without first asking the permission of the emperor. He also enlarged the circumference of the city, which was a privilege anciently granted to those who had extended the bounds of the empire. Tacitus says that the privilege was not exerted by any of the Roman commanders except Sylla and Augustus; but Dion relates that Julius Cæsar advanced the *pomærium*. Claudius had not increased the limits of the empire, except by the conquest of part of Britain.

Notwithstanding the favours which Claudius bestowed upon the Jews at the beginning of his reign, he at last expelled them from Rome on account of their tumultuous behaviour. That event, according to some writers, happened this year; while others, again, suppose that it took place somewhat later.

CLAUDIUS,
10.
A. D. 50.
Suet. v. 25.
Oros. vii. 6.

Ambassadors from Parthia arrived at Rome, complaining of the intolerable cruelty of their King Gotarzes, and requesting that Meherdates, one of their princes, who was living as a hostage among the Romans, should be sent to rescue them from his tyranny. Claudius, elated by such an appeal to his authority from so formidable a nation, readily acceded to their wishes, and ordered C. Cassius, the governor of Syria, to escort the young prince to the bank of the Euphrates. The Roman commander pitched his camp at Zeugma, where the river was most easy to be crossed; and when the Parthian nobles, and Acbarus king of the Arabians, arrived, he exhorted Meherdates to pursue his enterprize with celerity, as delay soon abated the zeal of the barbarians, or changed it into perfidy. This prudent counsel was defeated by Acbarus, who detained the prince many days at Edessa by such pleasures as his youth and inexperience could not resist. When they began their march, they did not proceed into Mesopotamia, but took a circuit into Armenia, where the mountains, and the snows of approaching winter, obstructed their progress. Having crossed the Tigris, they entered the country of Adiabene, whose king, Izates, pretended to espouse the cause of Meherdates, but was secretly attached to the interests of Gotarzes. In their march they captured Nineveh, the ancient capital of the Assyrian empire.

Tac. Ann. xii.
10—14.

CLAUDIUS,
10.
A. D. 50.


In the meantime Gotarzes was engaged in religious ceremonies on a certain mountain named Sambulos, where the worship of Hercules was chiefly observed. This god is said at stated times to have commanded his priests, during their sleep, to place near his temple horses fully equipped for hunting. The animals were accordingly loaded with quivers containing arrows, and were let loose into the forest; and at night they returned with their quivers empty, and themselves panting and exhausted with fatigue. The god at night disclosed to his priests the track which he had followed in the woods, and they found it everywhere strewn with wild beasts, the evidences of his skill in the chase! Gotarzes, after worshipping this powerful devastator of the woods, prepared to encounter his enemies; but as his army was not sufficiently strong, he eluded them by delays, and by moving from place to place, and sent emissaries to bribe them to desert their standards. Izates king of Adiabene, and Acbarus with his army of Arabians, yielded to the treacherous proposal, proving what had been before experienced, that the barbarians were more ready to solicit kings from Rome than to defend them. Meherdates, deserted by part of his allies, and distrustful of those who remained, resolved to hazard an engagement, which Gotarzes did not decline, when he beheld the diminution of his adversary's forces. A battle was fought with great carnage, and Meherdates was defeated, and treacherously surrendered by one of his dependants into the hands of the victor. Gotarzes, reviling him as an alien and a Roman, rather than as a descendant of Arsaces, ordered his ears to be cut off, but suffered him to live. Gotarzes soon afterwards died, and Vonones,

who was Prince of the Medes, succeeded to his sovereignty. After a short reign, distinguished by no memorable event, he transmitted the Parthian sceptre to his son Vologeses.

CLAUDIUS,
10.
A. D. 50.

Mithridates, whom in the year 41 Claudius had appointed king of the country contiguous to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, had been dethroned* (it appears) for his rebellion against the Romans, and his dominions had been given to his brother Cotys. But after wandering some time, and eluding the search of the Romans, he attempted to recover his kingdom, when he found that it was defended only by a few cohorts under Julius Aquila. After collecting an army he gained some advantages, and received succours from Zorsines, King of the Siraci. Aquila and Cotys, deeming it necessary to strengthen themselves by some foreign alliance, made a treaty with Eunones, Prince of the Adorsi, who agreed to assist them with cavalry, while the Romans conducted the siege of the enemy's cities. They marched into the country of the Siraci, and attacked Uspe, the walls of which, being constructed of wicker-work and earth, offered but a feeble resistance to their valour. The inhabitants proposed to give ten thousand slaves as the price of their capitulation; but as it was difficult to guard so great a number, the place was carried by assault. Its overthrow spread such terror, that Zorsines consulted the safety of his kingdom by giving hostages, and consenting to worship the image of the emperor. The Roman army returned with great glory, having advanced, without sustaining any loss, within three days' distance from the Tanais. Some

Tac. Ann. xii.
15—21.

* The books of Tacitus, that would have contained the particulars of the event, are lost.

CLAUDIUS,
10.
A. D. 50.
⏟

of their ships, in sailing home, were carried to the coast of the Tauri, who put to death the commander of a cohort, and most of the centurions.

Mithridates, finding that he had no resource in arms, deliberated which of his enemies he might most prudently entrust with his safety. He resolved to confide in Eunones, and having entered his palace, threw himself at his feet, bidding him to treat him as he pleased, but to remember that he was the descendant of the great Achæmenes, which was the only distinction that his enemies had not torn from him. Eunones received the suppliant with a generosity suitable to his fame and his misfortunes, and he wrote letters to Claudius, beseeching that his life might be spared, and that he might not be exposed to the ignominy of being led in triumph. Claudius stifled his desire of revenge by the calculation, that it was better to pardon such an enemy, than to hazard the renewal of an arduous war, from which little advantage or glory could be derived. Mithridates was, therefore, sent to Rome under a promise of safety, and he conducted himself, in the presence of Claudius and of the Roman people, with an undaunted and even haughty spirit.

CLAUDIUS,
11.
A. D. 51.
Tac. Ann. xii.
25—30.

Pallas, who had promoted the marriage of Agrippina, and was afterwards leagued with her in an adulterous intercourse, began to urge the credulous emperor upon the expediency of adopting her son Domitius. Such a step, he pretended, would be a security to the state and a protection to Britannicus, and was also conformable to the examples of Augustus and Tiberius, who had strengthened themselves by the adoption of their relatives. Claudius was persuaded by the arguments of his freedman, and delivered in the senate

an harangue, containing the sentiments which he had inculcated upon him. A law was, therefore, passed, by which Domitius was adopted into the Claudian family, and allowed to assume the name of Nero. It was observed by those who were skilful in genealogies, that there was no instance of any previous adoption into the families of the patrician Claudii, the line having descended without interruption from Attus Clausus. The dignity of Agrippina was increased by the title of *Augusta*; and after such an exaltation of herself and son, there was no one who did not commiserate the condition of Britannicus, while probably but few did not foresee his fate. The arts of his step-mother gradually abridged his comforts and reduced him to a state of desolation; and although he was but nine or ten years old, he is said to have been sensible of her treachery, and to have made it a subject of derision.

CLAUDIUS,
11.
A. D. 51.

Agrippina, while she was absolute at home, displayed her power to foreign nations by sending a colony of veterans to the city of Ubii, upon the Rhine, which was her birth-place. It was called in honour of her Colonia Agrippina; part of which appellation it still preserves in its modern name of Cologne. The Ubii were a people who passed over from Germany, and had been received into treaty with the Romans, by her maternal grandfather, Agrippa.

An alarm was excited in Upper Germany by the incursion and ravages of the Catti; but L. Pomponius, the lieutenant of the province, repulsed them by judiciously dividing his forces. One of his detachments surrounded the barbarians after their return, as they were feasting on their booty, and indulging in sleep; and the Romans felt additional exultation in their victory, as they

CLAUDIUS, ^{11.}
 A. D. 51. rescued some of the soldiers of Varus, who had
 suffered a captivity of forty years. The other
 detachment coming to a regular engagement with
 the enemy, defeated them with great slaughter.
 After these losses the Catti submitted; and Pom-
 ponius was rewarded with the triumphal honours,
 although his warlike achievements (in the opinion
 of Tacitus) conferred far less glory upon him than
 his poetry.

About the same time Vannius, whom Tiberius
 had set over the Suevi thirty years before, found
 his kingdom endangered by the hostility of the
 neighbouring nations, and the rebellion of his own
 nephews Vangio and Sido. Claudius, though often
 solicited, refused to interfere in the contests of the
 barbarians; but he promised to afford Vannius a
 place of refuge; in case he was overpowered by his
 enemies: he also ordered the governor of Pannonia
 carefully to protect the bank of the Danube, lest
 the victors, in the ardour of success, should attempt
 to disturb the peace of the Roman Empire. Van-
 nius, unable to encounter the numerous forces that
 were collected against him, resolved to retire into
 his castles, and endeavour to protract the war. But
 the Iazyges, who composed his cavalry, were im-
 patient of such restraint, and, by exposing them-
 selves to the attacks of the enemy in the adjoining
 plains, compelled him to hazard an engagement.
 After fighting bravely with his own hand, and
 receiving some honourable wounds, he was defeated,
 and took refuge in the vessels which were stationed
 in the Danube. He and his followers were settled
 in Pannonia, where lands were given them. Vangio
 and Sido divided his dominions between them, and
 during their reign observed the strictest fidelity
 towards the Romans.

P. Ostorius Scapula, being appointed *proprætor* of Britain, found the island in a tumultuous state. The inhabitants presumed that a new commander, unacquainted with his army, would not venture to attack them, especially as it was the commencement of winter. But as he was aware how important it was to strike terror into them by his first enterprises, he quickly marched against them, and routed their forces; and to prevent their insurrections in future, he intended to disarm the suspected nations, and confine them within certain limits. The Iceni*, who had formerly acceded to the alliance of the Romans, were the first to resist these encroachments upon their liberty; and by their persuasion the neighbouring people prepared themselves for battle, on a spot which was enclosed with a rude sort of rampart, having a narrow approach, in order to make it inaccessible to cavalry. The Roman general, although he had none but auxiliary troops with him, broke into this rampart: the Britons defended themselves with determined valour, but their flight was hindered and their slaughter increased by the very contrivances which they had adopted for their protection. In this attack the son of Ostorius saved the life of a citizen, which the Romans considered an act of the highest glory, and rewarded with a civic crown, made of oak leaves.

CLAUDIUS,
11.
A. D. 51.
Tac. Ann. xii.
31—40.

The defeat of the Iceni* terrified many of the Britons, and suppressed the movements of those who were wavering between peace and war. Ostorius led his army across the island, devastating all the country around him, as the inhabitants were afraid to meet him in open engagement. He had nearly advanced into Wales, when he was obliged

* People of Norfolk, &c.

CLAUDIUS,
11.
A. D. 51.

to alter his march on account of an insurrection which had arisen among the Brigantes*; but these insurgents were soon quieted, part of them being slain and the rest pardoned. The Silures, or people of South Wales, were far more pertinacious enemies, and equally despised the threats of the Romans and their offers of clemency. They were commanded by Caractacus, whom a long series of exploits in resisting the arms of the invaders had raised to a pre-eminence above the other British chieftains. As his troops were inferior to those of the Romans, he endeavoured to turn the advantage on his side, by his knowledge of the country and the strength of his positions. Having removed the war into the more northern parts of Wales, he arranged his men on some steep mountains, the gentler ascents of which were defended by piles of stones, while a river protected his front. Flying from rank to rank, he reminded them that their conduct on that day would either restore them to freedom, or condemn them to perpetual slavery; and he exhorted them to emulate the glory of their ancestors, who had driven Julius Cæsar from their shores, and rescued them from Roman cruelty, extortion, and lust. The soldiers answered him with alacrity; and each swore, according to the form of his country, that he would neither be terrified by weapons, nor overcome by wounds.

The Romans showed equal readiness for the engagement, and passed the river in front of the Britons without difficulty. When they approached the rampart, many of them were killed by missiles; but their skill and discipline soon enabled them to surmount the rude fortifications, and when they

* People of Northumberland, &c.

came to close engagement, they drove the Britons to the tops of the mountains. Both the light and the heavy troops closely pursued, and threw their ranks into confusion; and as the Britons protected their bodies neither with breast-plates nor helmets, they were overwhelmed by the superior arms of their assailants. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were captured in the battle; his brothers surrendered themselves; and he himself sought protection from Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes; but, instead of granting it, she put him in chains, and surrendered him to the Romans.

CLAUDIUS,
11.
A. D. 51.

As it was about the ninth year since the commencement of hostilities in Britain, the fame of Caractacus had extended beyond the limits of his own island, and had penetrated into the adjoining countries, and even into Italy. Every one, therefore, was eager to see the man who had so long defied the Roman arms. Claudius, by ostentatiously displaying his own victory, enhanced the glory of his captive. For when Caractacus entered Rome, the prætorian guards were drawn out, and the people were invited as if to the view of an extraordinary spectacle. His dependants and relations were exhibited to the gaze of the crowd: last of all the chieftain himself appeared, maintaining an undaunted look, and scorning by timid and suppliant language to propitiate the mercy of his conquerors. When he stood before Claudius, he is said to have addressed him to the following purport: "If I had known how to observe sufficient moderation in prosperity, I might have arrived in this city as your friend rather than your captive; nor would you have spurned to make an alliance with a chief, who can boast of being descended from a noble line of ancestors, and of having held the sway over

CLAUDIUS,
 11.
 A.D. 51.

numérus nations. But my present fortune is as glorious to you, as it is humiliating to me. I was once in possession of horses and men, of arms and wealth: can you be surprised that I was reluctant to surrender these advantages? Although you are desirous of subjugating all nations, is it to be expected that they are desirous of submitting to the yoke? If I had yielded to you without a struggle, neither my fate nor your renown would have been equally illustrious. If you now put me to death, I shall soon be forgotten; but if you preserve my life, I shall remain an everlasting example of your clemency." Claudius, generously appreciating the magnanimity of the British chieftain, spared not only his life, but the lives of his wife and brethren. When they were released from their chains, they paid the same reverence and offered the same thanks to Agrippina, who was sitting on an eminence, as to the emperor himself; for this was a new indignity to which the Romans were now subjected, to see a woman interfering in their public affairs, and assuming a part of the imperial functions. Zonaras relates, that when Caractacus beheld the great and sumptuous edifices of Rome, he could not forbear expressing his surprise, that a people who were surrounded with such magnificence should be envious of the cottages of the Britons.

When the senators were convened, they expatiated in glowing terms upon the capture of the British prince, which they considered no less glorious to the Roman arms, than the capture of King Syphax by P. Scipio, and King Perseus by L. Paulus. If we reflect what must have been the rude condition of the Britons in that age, it does not elevate our opinion of the Romans, to observe the exultation which they felt at the defeat

of a few barbarian hordes. But to carry their arms beyond the western shores of the continent of Europe, or to gain any advantage over the Parthians who were at the extremity of their eastern empire, seem to be the successes that were most gratifying to the conquerors of the world; and the fame of both was enjoyed by Claudius, although the most dull and insensible of their emperors.

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The triumphal honours were decreed to Ostorius; but his subsequent career did not correspond with his first exploits, either because he relaxed his exertions after the defeat of Caractacus, or because the Britons, indignant at the loss of their king, were more eager in their thirst for revenge. They surrounded the cohorts that were left among the Silures for the building of fortresses, killed the præfect and the bravest of the men, and would have massacred the whole if succour had not promptly arrived. They harassed the Romans with frequent battles, and with desultory attacks in the marshes and forests, and on every occasion when their forces could be brought into collision. The Silures displayed the most fierce and pertinacious valour, being provoked by the threat of the Roman commander, who had declared that they must be utterly extinguished as a nation, in the same manner as the Sicambri had been exterminated by Augustus. Incensed rather than daunted by his menaces, they intercepted two auxiliary cohorts that were incautiously foraging, and by a distribution of the spoils and captives induced other nations to join them in defence of their liberty. Ostorius, overcome by incessant fatigue and anxiety, died; while the Britons exulted that their persevering resistance had overpowered a general of no mean abilities.

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Tac. Ann. xii.
40.
Hist. iii. 45

He was succeeded by Aulus Didius, who on his arrival in the island found that the Silures had defeated a Roman legion, and were extending their ravages over the country. He drove them back; but as he was advanced in age, and satisfied with honours, he confined his operations to keeping the Britons in check by the arms of his lieutenants. He interposed, however, in the civil dissensions which agitated the kingdom of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes. This woman, corrupted by the blandishments of luxury and power, openly disregarded the duties which she owed to her husband Venusius, and transferred her affections to his armour-bearer, Vellocatus, whom she admitted to a participation of her kingdom. The Brigantes and others sympathized with the wrongs of the insulted husband, and, having succoured him with a powerful force, placed the perfidious queen in eminent peril. She procured assistance from the Romans, who, after various engagements, rescued her from danger, but were unable to re-instate her in her kingdom. This remained in the hands of Venusius, who had once been the faithful ally of the Romans, but whose animosity against them was now inflamed by the sense of his private injuries. Although the exploits of the two pro-prætors Ostorius and Didius are placed together by Tacitus for the sake of connection, yet they extended through a period of several years. The capture of Caractacus happened in the year 51, and the other events in some of the succeeding years. “

CHAPTER V.

Nero assumes the manly gown, and Britannicus is neglected and persecuted.—Burrhus made prætorian præfect by the interest of Agrippina.—Famine at Rome.—Rhadamistus invades Armenia, the kingdom of his uncle Mithridates, whom he treacherously puts to death.—Pelignus, the procurator of Cappadocia, encourages him to assume the diadem.—The Parthians expel him from Armenia. He recovers it, and is again expelled.—The noble conduct of his wife Zenobia.—Scribonianus is banished.—Extravagant honours paid by the senate to the freedman Pallas.—A naval spectacle is exhibited on Lake Fucinus.—Failure in the attempt to empty that lake.—Judæa disturbed by the rivalry of Cumanus and Felix.—Cumanus is deposed, and Felix made procurator.—Insurrections of the Clitæ in Cilicia.—Nero is married to Octavia, and pleads in favour of the Trojans.—Statilius Taurus destroyed by Agrippina.—Immunities granted to the Coans.—Relief given to the people of Byzantium.—Alleged oracle respecting the situation of that city.—Claudius exchanges the kingdom of Agrippa the younger.—Prodigies portending his death.—Agrippina destroys Lepida, and poisons Claudius.—His character.

THE assumption of the *toga virilis*, or the manly gown, was an important ceremony among the Romans; and Nero was allowed to perform it pre-

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Tac. Ann. xii.
41—43.

maturely, before the completion of his fourteenth year, in order that he might be sooner qualified to enjoy the honours of the state. The servile senate proposed, that he should be admitted to the consulship in his twentieth year, and that in the meantime he should possess the proconsular authority out of the city, and receive the title of *Prince of the youth*. Claudius readily assented, and distributed largesses to the soldiers and the people in the name of Nero. In the Circensian games which were exhibited, Nero appeared in a triumphal robe, and Britannicus in the usual dress of boys: from which circumstance, the Romans were led to prognosticate the different fortunes of the two. When the princes happened to meet one day, Britannicus saluted the other with his former name of *Domitius*. This offence exasperated Agrippina, and she complained vehemently to her husband, that the adoption which had been ratified by the senate and people, was annulled in his own house, and that, unless he restrained those who inculcated such contumacy, some public mischief would ensue. Claudius, acquiescing in her representations, banished or put to death the most virtuous persons who were employed in the education of his son, and surrounded him with such as his step-mother approved. Even the centurions and tribunes, who showed any commiseration for the lot of Britannicus, were removed from their posts under various pretences.

Agrippina considered it an obstacle to her ambition, that the prætorian guards were commanded by two officers whom she believed to be attached to the memory of Messalina and the welfare of her children. Pretending, therefore, that the cohorts would be more obedient and united under one

præfect than two, she bestowed the sole command of them upon Burrhus Afranius, a man of high military reputation, but who was disposed to remember from whose hands he received the appointment. While she was aggrandizing her own power, her base partisan Vitellius was accused by one of the senators of treasonable conduct. Claudius would have listened to the charge, if she had not altered his resolution by threats more than entreaties, and procured the banishment of the accuser.

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The inhabitants of Rome were terrified this year by many prodigies: one of which was, that ill-omened birds settled upon the Capitol! Frequent earthquakes, and a severe famine, were more real and afflicting evils. The people, impatient under the pressure of their sufferings, loudly clamoured against Claudius, as he was administering justice in the forum, and would have treated him with extreme violence, if he had not been rescued by the soldiers. Tacitus relates that the city did not contain provision for more than fifteen days, and that it would have been reduced to dreadful necessity, if the mildness of the winter had not allowed the importation of corn. He complains that though Italy could once furnish provisions for its legions in distant provinces, yet it afterwards received its chief supplies from Africa and Egypt; and by this change the lives of the Roman people were made dependant upon the perils of navigation and other vicissitudes. The civil wars may be considered as the cause of the uncultivated state of the lands in Italy.

Mithridates, king of Armenia, was destroyed this year by the nefarious arts of his brother Pharasmanes, who reigned over the neighbouring country of Iberia. This latter monarch had a son

Tac. Ann. xii.
44—51.

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named Rhadamistus, who was eminent for the strength and beauty of his body, but was of a fierce and ambitious disposition. He was impatient at being so long excluded from the succession to his father's kingdom, and used but little caution in concealing the unnatural wishes with which he was agitated. Pharasmanes, afraid of being the victim of his son's ambition, endeavoured to give a different direction to his hopes, by suggesting that the kingdom of Armenia was a prize which might by a little artifice be transferred to his possession. Rhadamistus was allured by the proposal, and, in pursuance of the plan which was concerted, fled to the court of his uncle, under pretence of escaping from the cruelty of his step-mother. He was received with great kindness by Mithridates, but basely requited his unsuspecting confidence by soliciting the Armenian nobles to revolt against their master.

Having pretended, after a certain time, that he was reconciled to his father, he returned to acquaint him with the success of his stratagems, and to execute the remainder of their plot by arms. Pharasmanes, inventing some specious pretexts for the aggression which he was going to practise, sent his son with a large army to invade Armenia. Rhadamistus, by the suddenness of his irruption, compelled Mithridates to take refuge in the castle of Gorneas, which was garrisoned by Roman soldiers, and might have defied the unskilful attacks of the Ibèrians, if the præfect Cælius Pollio had faithfully defended his post. But his avarice was unable to reject the bribes of Rhadamistus, and, after trying many arguments to induce the Armenian monarch to surrender, he secretly instigated his own soldiers to demand a capitulation, and to threaten that they

would quit the garrison, if their wishes were not obeyed. Mithridates, yielding to necessity, agreed to conclude a treaty, and left the fortress to meet his perfidious nephew, who accosted him with professions of regard, and swore that he would injure him with neither sword nor poison. They retired into an adjoining wood, where Rhadamistus pretended that a sacrifice was prepared, in order that the gods might be witnesses of the peace that was to be ratified between them. It was the custom of some barbarous nations, when two parties formed a treaty, to bind their thumbs together by a tight ligature, and after puncturing them to taste each other's blood. While Mithridates was preparing to undergo this ceremony, he was thrown on the ground, and, being surrounded by a concourse of his enemies, was loaded with chains. Rhadamistus, in obedience to the instructions which he received from his father, put Mithridates and his wife to death; but that he might not infringe the letter of his oath, he killed them by suffocation, and not by sword nor poison. Their sons were massacred for testifying grief at the death of their parents. The atrocity of this tale of domestic perfidy and bloodshed appears still blacker, when we are informed that the daughter of Pharasmanes was the wife of her uncle Mithridates, whose daughter on the other hand was united to Rhadamistus.

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Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, being informed of the transactions in Armenia, summoned a council to deliberate in what manner it would be proper for the Romans to notice them. Most of his officers were adverse to any interference, considering that the discord and contests of the barbarians would promote rather than

CLAUDIUS, ^{11.} obstruct the ascendancy of the Romans. That
 { A. D. 51. they might not, however, appear to sanction the
 crimes of Pharasmanes, they sent an embassy, commanding him to depart from the Armenian territory, and to withdraw his son. Julius Pelignus, procurator of Cappadocia, whose buffoonery had formerly recommended him to the favour of Claudius, collected a body of auxiliary troops with the intention of rescuing Armenia from the power of the Iberians; but his expedition was more terrible to his allies than his enemies. Deserted by his own forces, and attacked by the barbarians, he sought refuge with Rhadamistus, and was so corrupted by the gifts of the wily Iberian, that he at last encouraged him to assume the royal diadem, and sanctioned the ceremony by his presence. To exonerate the Romans from any participation in the disgraceful conduct of the procurator, Helvidius Priscus was sent with a legion under his command, to tranquillize affairs in such a way as emergencies might require. He quickly passed Mount Taurus, and had begun with great moderation to compose the disturbances, when he was ordered to return into Syria, for fear of involving the Romans in a foreign war.

For Vologeses the Parthian king, considering that there was a favourable opportunity of invading Armenia, which had once been under the sway of his ancestors, assembled his forces with the view of placing his brother Tiridates upon the throne of that country. He expelled the Iberians, without coming to a pitched engagement, and took possession of the cities of Artaxata and Tigranocerta. But the rigour of winter, or the want of necessary supplies, obliged him to abandon the advantages which he had gained; and Rhadamistus returned

to Armenia, treating the inhabitants as rebellious subjects, in whom he could repose no confidence. Although they were accustomed to arbitrary masters, they resisted his tyranny, and, having surrounded his palace, would have put him to death, if he had not escaped by the fleetness of his horses. His wife Zenobia was the companion of his flight, the fatigues of which she sustained for a time through fear of the insurgents and affection for her husband. But as she was in a state of pregnancy, she could not long endure the rapidity of the journey, and besought Rhadamistus to save her from the disgrace of captivity by putting her to an honourable death. Struck with admiration of her noble spirit, and tormented with the fear of leaving her in the hands of savage enemies, he embraced, soothed, and encouraged her to proceed. But she was incapable of such an effort; he, therefore, drew his scimeter, and, having wounded her, carried her to the bank of the Araxes, and committed her body to the stream. Some shepherds afterwards found her in the mud of the river, still exhibiting symptoms of life; and as they were struck with the dignity of her appearance, they bound up her wounds, and applied the simple remedies with which they were acquainted. When her name and misfortunes were known, she was carried to the city of Artaxata, and received from Tiridates the care and protection which were due to her rank. Rhadamistus escaped to Iberia, but did not desist from his efforts to gain the sceptre of Armenia.

Furius Scribonianus, the son of that Camillus who had excited a rebellion in Dalmatia at the beginning of the reign of Claudius, was banished this year, upon the charge of consulting astrologers respecting the emperor's death. Claudius

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12.
A. D. 52.
Tac. Ann. xii.
52, 53.

CLAUDIUS, considered it a proof of his clemency, that he twice spared the life of his enemy's son. Scribonianus did not live long in his exile, and, according to the assertion of some persons, he was destroyed by poison. A severe decree was passed for expelling astrologers from Italy; but it was fruitless, probably because such impostors have always been powerfully defended by the credulity of mankind.

Plin. Ep. vii.
29; viii. 6.

A law was enacted for degrading women who submitted to the embraces of slaves; and when it was known that the proposal originated with the emperor's freedman Pallas, the senate decreed him the prætorian honours, the use of a golden ring, and a considerable sum of money. Public thanks were also voted to him, declaring that, though he was descended from the kings of Arcadia, he disregarded his nobility for the sake of the public good, and submitted to be one of the prince's servants. The haughty freedman accepted the honours which were offered him, but declined the money, Claudius announcing, with the most solemn stupidity, that he was content to abide within his former poverty, whereas he was known to be one of the richest men in the empire. The epitaph on the monument of Pallas specified the marks of distinction which he had received from the senate; and the younger Pliny, who saw it, has written two letters to express the indignation which he felt at the audacity of the freedman, and the baseness of the senators.

Thirty thousand men had been labouring without intermission for eleven years in preparations for emptying the lake Fucinus, and the undertaking at last ended in vain parade and useless expense. A canal was dug through mountains for the distance of three miles, and before the waters

Dion. lx.
Suet. v. 20, 21,
32.
Plin. Hist.
Nat. xxxvi. 15.
Tac. Ann. xii.
56, 57.

were emitted, Claudius exhibited a grand naval spectacle upon the lake. Triremes and other vessels were launched upon it, manned with nineteen thousand criminals, who had been condemned to death, but who seemed very reluctant to shed their blood for the amusement of others. Before the engagement they cried out to Claudius, "Hail, O emperor, those who are about to die salute you;" and as he returned their salutation, they imagined that their lives were spared, and refused to begin the combat. He hesitated for some time whether he should not order them all to be destroyed; but at last he descended from his seat, and, partly by threats, partly by persuasion, induced them to commence the fight. They maintained the combat with considerable resolution, and, after receiving and inflicting many wounds, were rescued from the slaughter of one another. The sides of the lake, the hills, and the mountain, were filled with an innumerable multitude of spectators, and above all others the haughty Agrippina was conspicuous in a robe of gold.

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When the spectacle was ended, the waters were discharged into the canal, but it had not been constructed on a sufficient level to empty the deepest part of the lake, and therefore new excavations became necessary. An entertainment was given, and a combat of gladiators exhibited; but a violent overflow of the waters spread universal consternation, and nearly drowned the emperor. Agrippina, conceiving that the work had been imperfectly executed, upbraided Narcissus, who had the superintendence of it, with cupidity and fraud; and he in return inveighed against her arrogance and ambition. The undertaking was

CLAUDIUS, afterwards neglected, either through the indifference of Claudius, or the jealousy of Nero; and the lake still remains in its natural state, under the name of the lake of Celano. Julius Cæsar had intended to empty it; but Augustus, though importuned by the Marsi, had refused to make the attempt. No advantages were expected from so arduous and expensive a work, except that it would make the Tiber more navigable, and yield a few more acres to the culture of the husbandman: but the lake was at a considerable distance from the Tiber, and the lands of Italy, instead of being tilled to the utmost, were lying in an unproductive state.

Jos. Ant. xx. 5.
 Bell. Jud. ii.
 12.
 Tac. Ann. xii.
 54.

The Jews, after the impious attempts which Caius had made against their religion, were fearful of experiencing similar insults; nor did the conduct of the Romans tend to allay their suspicions. Hostilities were fomented between the Jews and the Samaritans by the rivalry of Ventidius Cumanus, the procurator of the country, and Felix, the brother of Pallas the powerful freedman. The adverse parties skirmished and plundered one another, and killed some of the Roman soldiers that were sent against them; and a war would probably have ensued, if Quadratus, the governor of Syria, had not interposed. He punished without scruple the delinquents among the Jews; but it was a more difficult task to give his decision between Cumanus and Felix, according to the authority which the emperor had allowed him. Deterred (it seems) by the powerful influence of Pallas, he treated Felix as a judge rather than a defendant, and effectually silenced the voices of his accusers. Cumanus, condemned to bear the punishment of both, was sent to Rome and after-

wards banished, while Felix was appointed procurator in his stead. Tacitus reports, that Felix was procurator of the country in conjunction with Cumanus; but in this and some other particulars his history is at variance with that of Josephus. It seems most probable that Felix was in Judæa at the time without any determinate authority, or perhaps upon special business, and that, relying upon the power of his brother, he interfered in the affairs of the nation. As he was destitute of all principle, he might have engaged in a contest with Cumanus for the express purpose of supplanting him.

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The Clitæ, a rude people of Cilicia, who were often in a state of insurrection, had fortified themselves upon the mountains, from which they made descents upon the towns and sea-shore, and pursued a system of general depredation. They besieged the city of Anemurium, and defeated a body of Roman horse (sent from Syria), as the roughness of the country was ill suited to the operations of cavalry. But Antiochus, the king of that territory, having created disunion among them by his intrigues, put the principal leaders to death, and tranquillized the rest by his clemency.

Tac. Ann. xii.
55.

Nero, who was now sixteen years of age, married the emperor's daughter Octavia, who had been betrothed to him for several years. To give a specimen of his honourable attainments, he advocated in Greek the cause of the people of Troy, and procured for them an exemption from all public taxes. As the progenitors of the Roman people, they had long enjoyed certain immunities: Claudius probably enlarged these, or ratified them in a more formal manner. Nero pleaded in Latin for the people of Bologna, who

CLAUDIUS,
13.
A D. 53.

Tac. Ann. xii.
58—63.
Suet. vi. 7.

CLAUDIUS,
13.
A. D. 53.

had suffered by a conflagration, and obtained for them the grant of a sum of money. Liberty was restored to the Rhodians; and the people of Apamea, who had been afflicted by an earthquake, were allowed a remission of tribute for five years.

While Agrippina was increasing the popularity of her son by acts of mercy, she instigated Claudius to the commission of every cruelty that gratified her passions. Having fixed her desires upon the gardens of Statilius Taurus, she suborned Tarquitius Priscus, who had been his lieutenant in the proconsulship of Africa, to accuse him of extortion and magical superstitions. Statilius, indignant at the unjust charges, put himself to death, before the senators gave their verdict. The accuser appeared so odious, that the powerful intrigues of Agrippina could not save him from being expelled from the senate.

Claudius was urgent that the decisions of his procurators should have the same authority as his own, and he granted them this exorbitant power by an express decree of the senate. He allowed the Coans an exemption from all tribute, expatiating upon the antiquity of their island, and the manner in which it had been honoured by the residence of the god, *Æsculapius*; but his real motive was to gratify his physician, named *Xenophon*, who was born there. Deputies came from the people of *Byzantium*, imploring the indulgence of the emperor and senate, because, notwithstanding the commercial advantages of their situation, the fertility of their soil, and the fecundity of their sea, the burdens which they had to bear were too oppressive. Alleviation was granted them by a remission of tribute for five years. *Tacitus* and *Strabo* relate that the admirable situation of *By-*

zantium was suggested by the oracle of Apollo, which commanded the colonists to settle opposite the city of the *blind*, alluding to the folly of the Chalcedonians, who had previously chosen a very inferior position. But Herodotus, a far older writer, seems to have been ignorant of this oracular enigma; for he merely says, that the satrap Megabyzus declared the Chalcedonians must have been blind, and that the remark was much applauded, which would not have been the case, if it had been but the repetition of an ancient oracle. The shrewdness of the Persian's observation was, perhaps, in time ascribed to the sagacity of the Delphic God.

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Herod. iv. 144.

Four years before this time, Claudius had made the younger Agrippa king of Chalcis; and he now, in lieu of that territory, gave him Batanea, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Abilene. Judæa, Samaria, and the rest of Palestine, were placed under the government of the procurator Felix, who is described by Tacitus as indulging in all manner of cruelty and licentiousness, exercising the authority of a king with the disposition of a slave, and imagining that every crime might be committed with impunity under the protection of his brother Pallas.

Jos. Ant. xx. 7.
Bell. Jud. ii.
12.
Tac. Ann. xii.
54.
Hist. v. 9.

Historians agree in relating that the death of Claudius was portended by a variety of prodigies. A comet appeared, the prætorian standards were struck with lightning, a swarm of bees settled on the top of the Capitol, and disgusting monsters* were born! It was also remarked, that a quæstor, an ædile, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul, being one out of each rank of magistrates, expired within a few months. But what chiefly excited the fears

CLAUDIUS,
14.
A. D. 54.
Dion. lx.
Suet. v. 43, 46.
Tac. Ann. xii.
64—69.

* One of these was a pig with the talons of a hawk, which M. Tillemont satirically observes was a fit emblem of the Emperor Nero.

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 of Agrippina was a suspicion that her adultery with Pallas was not unknown to Claudius, and that he was beginning to repent of his marriage with her, and his adoption of Nero. His affection for Britannicus appeared to be reviving; and he incautiously observed, when he was in a state of inebriety, that he seemed doomed to have unchaste wives, but that they would not go unpunished. Agrippina, therefore, resolved to hasten her criminal projects; and her first victim was Lepida, the sister of her former husband Domitius, and the aunt of Nero. This woman was able to rival Agrippina in the splendour of her ancestors, and in wealth and beauty; they were both equally unchaste and vicious; and it was a vehement contest between them, whether the aunt or the mother should exercise the greater influence over Nero. Lepida won his affections by caresses and presents; but Agrippina, who while she elevated her son was unable to bear his authority, endeavoured to awe him by austerity and threats. Lepida, however, was overcome in the unequal competition, and was put to death upon some fictitious charges.

She was warmly defended by the freedman Narcissus, who every day entertained greater suspicion of the designs of Agrippina, and was sensible that he had little prospect of favour, whether Britannicus or Nero succeeded to the imperial power. He was considered so faithful a guardian of Claudius, that Agrippina did not expect to elude his vigilance; but as soon as he departed into Campania for the recovery of his health, she resolved to execute the crime, which she had before conceived, of poisoning her husband. By the skill of an infamous woman named Locusta, who was long one of the diabolical agents of the

court, she procured a poison which was to stupify her victim without destroying him too suddenly. It was administered by one of the eunuchs, named Halotus, whose office it was to taste the emperor's food ; or, according to some accounts, it was infused by Agrippina herself into some mushrooms, which she knew were delicacies particularly agreeable to the palate of Claudius. When it began to affect him, he was carried from the banquet, as if oppressed by his usual intemperance. But as it appeared to operate slowly, the physician Xenophon, whom Agrippina had admitted to her confidence, is said to have introduced a poisoned feather down his throat, under pretence of assisting him to discharge the contents of his stomach. His sufferings were protracted throughout the night ; but on the following morning, which was the 13th of October, he expired, being in the 64th year of his age, and having held the imperial dignity thirteen years, eight months, and nineteen days.

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Little need be added to the delineation of his character, which has been given in the preceding narrative. Gluttony and drunkenness, lust and gambling, were vices to which he was addicted by his own natural disposition ; and besides these, he indulged in cruelty, hatred, suspicion, and every other evil passion, with which his wives and freedmen found it their interest to inspire him. His imbecility and indecision made him abjectly subservient to the will of others ; and unfortunately those, whose situation empowered them to exercise the greatest influence over him, were persons of the most black and daring depravity. His freedmen were corrupt and self-interested ; and in the whole range of history, it would be difficult to select two women as bold and dissolute as the

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Emperresses Messalina and Agrippina. Notwithstanding his vices and follies, however, he often exhibited instances of virtue and discernment; but these were too brief and fluctuating to weaken the disgust that arises from the contemplation of his general behaviour. Under the powerful controul of the wise and the good he might probably have been restrained from any atrocious excesses in his conduct; but his intellect was never strong enough to direct the complicated affairs of an empire, nor was his virtue sufficiently resolute to resist the seductions of profligate advisers.

Suet. v. 14, 15.
 Dion. lx.

He was fond of administering justice; but in this, as in other duties, he displayed great inconsistency, being sometimes shrewd and circumspect, and sometimes rash and furious. When a woman refused to acknowledge her own son, he commanded her to marry him, and by this expedient forced her to avow the relation between them. One day when he was upon the tribunal, the Bithynians began to complain of the corruption of their governor Junius Cilo; but as he did not distinctly hear them, he asked Narcissus what they said. The freedman, with audacious falsehood, replied, that they were thanking Junius. "Let him then," said the credulous emperor, "hold the government for two years longer." He was so angry with a certain Gallicus, who was pleading a cause before him, that he commanded him to be thrown into the Tiber. A suit, which the unfortunate Gallicus was to have undertaken, was offered to Domitius Afer, a celebrated advocate; but he shrewdly asked the client, "Pray, who told you that I was a better swimmer than Gallicus?"

Suet. v. 40—
 42.

Claudius was deficient neither in eloquence nor in learning. He wrote a great many volumes of

history, and an account of his own life, which is said to have been less remarkable for want of elegance than want of judgment. He professed a great admiration for the Greek language, and often quoted the verses of Homer. One of the lines of that poet*, upon the subject of punishing those who have committed an aggression against us, was his favourite signal to the soldiers, whom he engaged to execute any project of revenge.

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He is described as tall and proportionably stout; and his exterior would have possessed sufficient dignity, if infirmities of the body had not accompanied those of the mind, and given him an imbecile appearance.

* "Ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ.—II. xxiv. 369.

THE EMPEROR NERO.

CHAPTER I.

Nero is universally acknowledged emperor.—Claudius is deified.—Lineage and preceding life of Nero.—Silanus, proconsul of Asia, is poisoned by Agrippina, and Narcissus compelled to die.—Burrhus and Seneca oppose the ambition of Agrippina.—Nero pronounces the panegyric of Claudius, and is censured for his want of eloquence.—The virtuous beginning of his reign.—The arrogance of Agrippina.—Vologeses, after invading Armenia, is compelled to leave it, and Domitius Corbulo is entrusted with its preservation.—Nero forms an attachment to Acte, which Agrippina opposes so vehemently, that she alienates his affection.—Pallas is removed from the management of the finances.—Nero, alarmed by the threats of Agrippina, poisons Britannicus, and causes his body to be burned the same night.—He deprives his mother of her guards, and removes her from the palace.—She is deserted by her friends, and accused of a conspiracy.—She defends herself, and procures the punishment of her adversaries.—Charge against Burrhus and Pallas.—The arrogant declaration of the latter.—Nero removes the guard from the theatres, and performs the lustration of the city.

CLAUDIUS had already expired, when the consuls and priests were offering vows for his recovery ; for Agrippina carefully concealed his death, until

NERO,
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A. D. 54.
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NERO,

1.

A. D. 54.

Tac. Ann. xii.

68, 69.

Dion. lx.

Suet vi. 8.

she had completed her arrangements for securing the sovereignty to her son. Embracing Britannicus with hypocritical tenderness, she artfully detained him within his chamber; she placed his sisters, Antonia and Octavia, under similar restraint, guarded all the avenues of the palace, and frequently announced that the health of the emperor was improving. A little after mid-day, which was the time the astrologers selected as most auspicious to her designs, the doors of the palace were suddenly thrown open, and Nero, escorted by Burrhus, was presented to the prætorian troops which were on guard. Obedient to the suggestions of their præfect, they received him with joyful acclamations: some are said to have called for Britannicus, but they found themselves without support, and did not venture to oppose the majority of their comrades. Nero was placed in a litter and carried to the camp, where, after haranguing the soldiers and promising them a largess, he was saluted *Emperor*. Proceeding to the senate, he found that assembly equally willing to acknowledge his authority, and he received all the titles attached to the imperial power, except that of *Father of his country*, which he declined for the present on account of his youth. The provinces submitted to him without hesitation, and he became undisputed master of the Roman Empire, to the exclusion of the rightful heir Britannicus.

The will of Claudius was not read in the senate, in order that the palpable injustice of preferring his step-son to his own child might not provoke the animosity of the people. Divine honours, however, were decreed to him; and he, who scarcely possessed sufficient intellect to be accounted a reasonable man, was profanely distin-

guished with the appellation of a god. Gallio, the brother of Seneca, remarked, that he was dragged to heaven with a hook, in allusion to the hooks with which the bodies of criminals were dragged to the Tiber\*. Seneca wrote a satirical piece upon the subject of the deification; but while he displays his wit in it, he is guilty of much ribaldry. Nero indulged in a joke, observing that mushrooms were food for gods!

NERO  
1.  
A. D. 54.

The supreme power was vested in the hands of Nero, before he had completed his seventeenth year, as he was born on the 15th of December in the year 37. By his mother's side he was the grandson of the celebrated Germanicus. By his father, Cn. Domitius, he was descended from a noble family, who bore the name of Ænobarbi, on account of the copper colour of their beards. This cognomen is said to have originated with L. Domitius, who, as he was returning from the country, was accosted by two youths of majestic form, and commanded by them to assure the Roman senate and people of a victory, respecting which there was some uncertainty. To prove their authority, they stroked his cheeks until his hair became copper-coloured instead of black; and this distinctive mark is said to have been inherited by most of his descendants. Among the Ænobarbi were many eminent men; but Nero, while he degenerated from their virtues, was imbued with the peculiar vices of each. His father, during the whole of his life, had rendered himself infamous by fraud, cruelty, and lust. He appears, however, to

Suet. vi. 1—7.

\* The joke of Gallio was much admired; but I presume that, in order to give it full force, we must understand that there was a resemblance between the shape of the hook, and that of the mushroom by which Claudius was poisoned.

NERO,  
1.  
A. D. 54.

have been sensible of his own depraved character, as well as his wife's; for, when his friends congratulated him upon the birth of Nero, he declared that nothing could be born from himself and Agrippina, that would not be of a detestable and pernicious nature. A certain astrologer is said to have foretold that Nero would be emperor, but that he would kill his mother; and Agrippina, instead of being terrified by the prediction, exclaimed, under the infatuation of ambition, "Let him kill me, provided he is emperor!" When Nero was three years old, his father Domitius died. He was stripped of his paternal property by Caius, and his mother was driven into banishment, so that he was compelled to live in an indigent state with his aunt Lepida, under the care of a dancer and a barber. But when Claudius became emperor, he not only recovered the wealth of his father, but inherited the riches of Crispus Pasionius, the second husband of Agrippina. The intrigues of his mother, the stupidity of Claudius, and the baseness of the Romans, raised him to the imperial power, before he had attained the experience of age, or the stability of virtue for the discharge of its important functions.

Tac. Ann.  
xiii. 1.

The first person put to death under the new sovereign was Junius Silanus, proconsul of Asia. He was a man of quiet and unambitious character, but odious to Agrippina, because she feared that he might avenge the death of his brother L. Silanus, who had been destroyed by her artifices; and because she knew that many of the citizens considered him more fit for the empire than Nero, especially as he was a descendant of Augustus. She, therefore, caused him to be poisoned at a banquet, without the knowledge of Nero.

The freedman Narcissus, whom she had just reason for considering as her bitterest foe, was the next victim of her fury. His power was so great that cities and kings had condescended to pay their court to him; and he had amassed such wealth, that when Claudius once complained of the emptiness of his treasury, it was observed that he would be rich enough, if his two freedmen Narcissus and Pallas would admit him to partnership with them. Narcissus, however, while he aggrandized himself, evinced a laudable fidelity to the master whose favour was the cause of his elevation. He was compelled to die, even against the wish of Nero; and before his death he honourably destroyed the secret communications which he had received against Agrippina and others.

NERO, •  
1.  
A. D. 54.  
Dion. lx.  
Suet. v. 28.

Still further murders would have been committed, if the authority of Burrhus and Seneca had not checked the progress of Agrippina's cruelty. These two eminent men, who acted as the guardians and directors of Nero's youth, were distinguished by opposite pursuits and characters. The influence of Burrhus was maintained by military experience and the severity of his manners: that of Seneca rested upon his learning and eloquence, which were rendered attractive by the courtesy of his deportment. Both, however, possessed an equal authority, they were free from jealousy of each other, and cordially united in endeavouring to guard their pupil from the dangerous excesses of absolute power. Although they were indebted to Agrippina for their elevation, they resolved to oppose her ambition, when they found that she wished to partake in the exercise of the imperial functions. She was supported by the freedman Pallas, who had been the

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
2, 3.



•NERO,  
1.  
A. D. 54.

author of her incestuous marriage with Claudius ; but Nero was not yet debased enough to submit to the domination of one who had been a slave, and was disgusted with the presumption and arrogance of Pallas. He paid, however, all external marks of honour to his mother, and the senate decreed her several privileges.

On the day appointed for the funeral of Claudius, Nero pronounced his panegyric, and during the greater part of his speech was heard with favourable attention ; but when he ventured to commend the wisdom and foresight of the late emperor, no one abstained from laughter. The oration, containing praise so palpably false, was the production of Seneca, and, like most of the writings of that philosopher, was polished and elaborate. The older Romans remarked to the disparagement of Nero, that he was the first emperor who had relied upon the eloquence of others for the expression of his sentiments. Julius Cæsar possessed such talents for speaking as enabled him to rival the greatest orators of the age ; and Augustus had that ready eloquence which is useful and becoming in a prince. Tiberius was gifted with the art both of forcibly expressing his meaning, and of cautiously veiling it in ambiguity. Even the furious Caligula laboured to excel in the accomplishments of oratory ; and the speeches of Claudius, when they were premeditated, were not deficient in elegance. But Nero from his earliest youth had paid less attention to rhetoric than to most other arts. Painting, singing, and the driving of chariots and horses, were his favourite amusements. He was fond of poetry, and composed verses with considerable ease ; but his style was ridiculously affected, if we can judge from the lines which are usually

ascribed to him in the first satire of Persius. Seneca is said to have discouraged him from the perusal of the ancient orators, in order that they might not give him a disrelish for his own more artificial eloquence; and Agrippina inspired him with a contempt for philosophy, which she alleged was an unfit study for a person of imperial rank!

NERO,  
1.  
A. D. 54.

Nero, having bestowed a sumptuous funeral upon the remains of Claudius, gave the senate many encouraging assurances of the manner in which he intended to govern the empire. Reprobating the practices which had rendered his predecessor unpopular, he declared that he would not assume to himself the sole arbitration of all affairs; he promised that the senate and consuls should exercise their ancient rights, and that favours should not be procured from him by venality and corruption. He professed that he would rule according to the example of Augustus, and for a short time he appeared anxious to abide by the model which he had prescribed to himself. He exhibited many instances of courtesy, generosity, and mercy. He abolished or reduced the most oppressive taxes, diminished the rewards paid to informers, and gave pensions to illustrious senators who were in indigent circumstances. He refused the statues of silver and gold which it was proposed to erect to him; and when it was decreed that the month of December, in which he was born, should be accounted the first in the year, he wisely forbore to alter the order of the calendar. When the senate returned him thanks for his conduct, he replied, "Offer them, when I have deserved them." Upon being required to sign the warrant for a criminal's execution he evinced a deep repugnance to the office, exclaiming, "Would

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
4, 5.  
Suet. vi. 9, 10.

NERO,  
1.  
A. D. 54.

that I knew not how to write!" Such was his language and behaviour, before his passions were inflamed by indulgence, and while his disposition was yet docile enough to submit to the virtuous directions of others.

Agrippina exhibited an unbecoming interference in the direction of affairs, by causing the senators to be convened in the palace, in order that she might listen to their debates from behind a curtain, which concealed her from their view. In an audience which was given to some ambassadors from Armenia, she prepared to ascend the throne where Nero was sitting; and the strangers would have beheld her presiding in conjunction with the emperor, if Seneca had not promptly advised him to descend and meet his mother, and afterwards dismiss the assembly.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
6—10.

Nero gave the sovereignty of Armenia Minor to Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, and appointed Sohemus to be king of the country of Sophene. At the end of the year, when he established these petty princes, he was preparing for war with the Parthian monarch Vologeses, who had taken possession of Armenia. Hostilities, however, were for the present averted, as Vologeses was compelled by the revolt of his son Vardanes to withdraw his troops from the invaded country. He afterwards consented to give the most noble of the family of the Arsacidæ as hostages to the Romans. Domitius Corbulo, a skilful and experienced commander, was entrusted by Nero with the preservation of Armenia; and this appointment gratified the Romans, by holding out a hope that merit would be duly honoured by their new prince. When a contest arose between Corbulo and Quadratus, the lieutenant of Syria, respecting the share

NERO,  
1, 2.  
A. D. 55.

of glory which was due to each for the pacification of the East, Nero endeavoured to compose their jealousy, by proclaiming that the imperial *fusces* should be ornamented with laurel\*, in consequence of the united achievements of the two.

NERO,  
1, 2.  
A. D. 55.

An illicit attachment which Nero formed for a freedwoman named Acte, was the source of the horrible crimes which have stigmatized his name. The warmth of his passion nearly induced him to marry her; and to make his amour less disgraceful, he procured persons of consular rank to swear that she was of royal extraction. The youths Otho and Senecio, who were admitted into his confidence, openly encouraged him in the intrigue; and even his graver counsellors, Seneca and Burrhus, did not oppose it, as they saw that his wife Octavia had no share in his affections, and they were afraid that, if he was rigidly restricted from all other objects, the illustrious females of Rome would become the victims of his passion. But Agrippina was too proud and jealous to allow a freedwoman to usurp that ascendancy over her son, which she desired to secure for herself. Without waiting until his love for Acte had in some degree subsided, she instantly upbraided him for it with acrimonious severity, and continued her reproaches till he lost all deference for her, and resigned himself to the more gentle authority of Seneca. When she perceived this alienation, she endeavoured to retrieve it by caresses and entreaties, acknowledging that her censures had been unreasonably severe; but the sudden transformation did not deceive Nero, especially as his friends admonished him to beware of the schemes of a woman

\* This, in Nero's age, was a temporary emblem of victory; but Lipsius observes, that in subsequent times the emperor's *fusces* were constantly entwined with laurel.

NERO,  
1, 2.  
A. D. 55.

whose cunning was equal to her ferocity. It happened about this time that, after an inspection of the imperial wardrobe, he sent her a liberal portion of the robes and jewels which it contained; but instead of accepting them with courtesy, she complained that she was debarred from the possession of the rest, and that her son made a division of that wealth, which he had received wholly from her.

Tac. Ann xiii.  
14.

To punish her arrogance Pallas, who was her chief partisan, was removed from the management of the finances, which he had exercised under Claudius with absolute authority; and even now he had sufficient power to stipulate that he should not be held responsible for his past administration. After his disgrace Agrippina began to indulge in the most furious menaces, proclaiming in the presence of Nero, that Britannicus was now grown up, and that he was the rightful and fit heir of the empire, which had been usurped by an adopted ingrate. She declared that she was willing to disclose all the crimes relative to her marriage with Claudius and his death; that her only protection was in the life of her step-son; that she would proceed with him to the camp, where the memory of her father Germanicus would gain attention to her complaints; and that she hoped to see Burrhus and Seneca reduced to their former insignificance. Nero was terrified by these threats, especially as Britannicus would soon complete his fourteenth year and assume the manly robe, and as he had lately given some proof that he was not insensible to the injustice which he had suffered. For in the Saturnalian festival, when Nero in petulant sport had commanded him to sing a song, he commenced one which bore an allusion to his misfor-

tune in being excluded from his paternal seat and authority; and the persons who were present, being warmed with the freedom of nocturnal revelry, did not disguise the commiseration which they felt for him. Reflecting upon these circumstances, and the menacing conduct of Agrippina, Nero was anxious to rid himself of such a rival for the empire; but as he could allege no crime against him, and was afraid to destroy him openly, he resolved to take away his life by poison.

NERO,<sup>3</sup>  
1, 2.  
A. D. 55.

For this purpose he employed Pollio Julius, Tac. Ann. xiii. 5.  
tribune of a prætorian cohort, who was entrusted Suet. vi. 33.  
with the guard of Locusta, the infamous woman who had poisoned Claudius, and who was now under condemnation for her many horrible crimes. The first poison prepared by them was administered to Britannicus by those who had the care of his education, and who, by the arrangements of Agrippina, were all persons of base and unprincipled character; but the dose, being too weak, passed through his body without producing any injury. Nero threatened the tribune, and beat Locusta with his own hand, for retarding his projects; and that he might not be frustrated a second time, they concocted in his presence such a poison as was proved by experiments made upon animals to be instantaneously fatal. It was resolved, that this should be given to Britannicus at one of his meals, which it was customary for him, and other young princes, to take in the company of the emperor at a separate and more frugal table; but, as his food was usually tasted by one of the attendants, some contrivance was necessary, that the sudden death of them both might not lead to the immediate disclosure of the nefarious plot. A cup, therefore, was presented to Britannicus, which had been

NERO,  
1, 2.  
A. D. 55.

previously tasted, but which was so hot that he was unable to drink it, and in the water which was used for the purpose of cooling it, the deadly mixture was infused\*. He had no sooner tasted the draught thus augmented, than he fell from his seat, and was deprived of utterance and respiration. Some of those who were near him fled in dismay; others who had more discernment and greater command of their feelings remained in their places, anxiously watching the behaviour of Nero. He, assuming an air of calmness and ignorance, observed that Britannicus was seized with an attack of epilepsy, to which he had been subject from his infancy, and that he would soon recover his senses. Agrippina, who was present, concealed, as well as she was able, the consternation which agitated her; and even Octavia was obliged to witness the murder of her only brother with that dissembling constraint, which necessity had taught her to place upon all the feelings of her bosom. As no one dared openly to express terror or surprise, the banquet, after a short pause, was renewed with its accustomed hilarity.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
17.

The body of Britannicus was burned the same night with very little ceremony, and his ashes were interred in the Campus Martius amidst violent showers of rain, which the people interpreted as indications of the anger of the gods. Many, however, of the Romans viewed the murder with diminished abhorrence, as they reflected upon the ancient discord of Nero and Britannicus, and their irreconcilable pretensions to the supreme power. Nero published an edict excusing the precipitation of the funeral, and alleging that after the death of

\* This, according to Justin, was the method by which Alexander the Great was poisoned.

his brother all his hopes were centred in the state, and that he now possessed additional claims to the protection of the Roman people, as being the sole survivor of the imperial race. Locusta was not only rewarded with a pardon and with large estates, but received a number of pupils to instruct in her diabolical secrets. The most powerful of the emperor's friends were propitiated with rich presents; and while virtuous persons were offended at seeing such men as Seneca and Burrhus accepting bribes for their acquiescence in guilt, others excused them as being unable to reject the liberality of the prince.

NERO,  
1, 2.  
A. D. 55.

But nothing could appease the resentment of Agrippina, who began to hold frequent conferences with her friends, to collect money from all quarters with more than her usual greediness, and to court the favour of the military and the nobles, as if she was desirous of concentrating a party around her. Nero, being aware of her proceedings, deprived her of the guard of prætorian troops and German soldiers to which she had been accustomed; he no longer permitted her to reside in the palace, but removed her to the house which had belonged to his grandmother Antonia; and when he went thither to visit her, he was surrounded with a band of centurions, and took his leave after a very short interview. As soon as she experienced this neglect from her son, she found herself deserted by every one, and the reputation of power, which she had long enjoyed, instantly vanished. Junia Silana, a noble but profligate woman, whom she had alienated from her friendship by thwarting her in a scheme of marriage, conceived that she might now overwhelm her by a calumnious accusation. She instructed, therefore, two of her clients to charge her with an intention of

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
18—24.



NERO,  
1, 2.  
A. D. 55.


marrying Rubellius Plautus, who on his mother's side was descended from Augustus, and of regaining by this union the exercise of the imperial power. Paris, a celebrated actor, who was accustomed to administer to the entertainment of the prince, disclosed the alleged offence during his nightly festivities, and so terrified him that he wished to issue immediate orders for the execution of Agrippina. But Burrhus interposed against such precipitation, and procured for her the right of defending herself on the following day, when she repelled the accusation with great vehemence, and demanded an interview with her son. She still retained such an influence over his mind, as to secure not only her own acquittal, but the punishment of her accusers. Silana and her two clients were banished; but Paris escaped with impunity, as being essential to the pleasures of the prince. Besides this triumph over her enemies, Agrippina had interest to obtain offices for several of her friends.

Pallas and Burrhus were afterwards accused of having conspired to raise Cornelius Sylla, the son-in-law of the Emperor Claudius, to the sovereign power. The charge was manifestly false, and the fabricator of it was sent into exile. Burrhus, though sustaining the part of a defendant, took his seat and passed sentence among the judges. The arrogance of Pallas during the trial created great disgust; for when it was alleged that some of his freedmen were his accomplices, he declared that he never gave any orders in his house except by a nod or a motion of the hand, or, if he wished to be more explicit, he wrote down his commands, that he might not be compelled to hold any conversa-

tion with his servants ! Such was the conduct of a man who had himself been a slave.

At the end of the year the military guard, which it was usual to station at the theatres, was discontinued, and the preservation of order was left to the free discretion of the people. Nero, by the direction of the soothsayers, performed the lustration of the city, because the temples of Jupiter and Minerva had been struck with lightning.

NERO,  
1, 2.  
A. D. 55.



## CHAPTER II.

*Nero creates riots in the streets of Rome, and in the theatre.—Compels a senator, who had beaten him, to put himself to death.—The actors banished from Italy.—A proposal to punish ungrateful freedmen rejected.—Various salutary regulations.—Pomponia Græcina accused of foreign superstition, and acquitted.—Liberality of Nero to Messala and others.—P. Suius inveighs against Seneca, and is banished.—Octavius Sagitta, the tribune, murders Pontia, and his freedman declares himself guilty of the crime.—Nero becomes enamoured of Poppæa Sabina, and gets rid of her husband Otho, by appointing him lieutenant of Lusitania.—Cornelius Sylla banished to Marseilles.—Nero meditates a total repeal of the customs, but is dissuaded by the senators.—The fig-tree Ruminalis withers and revives.—The war in Armenia conducted by Corbulo, who, after establishing strict discipline in his army, takes the fortified places, and burns the capital Artaxata.—Transactions in Germany.—The Frisii expelled from the lands near the Rhine.—The Ansibarii destroyed.—Contest between the Catti and Hermanduri.—Fires issue from the earth among the Juhones.*

NERO,  
2, 3.  
A. D. 56.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
25.

NERO, forgetting the dignity which was due to his exalted station, began to indulge in the most puerile and licentious riot. He disguised himself at night in the garb of a slave, and, attended by a

body of dissolute companions, traversed the streets of Rome, attacking and wounding all who were unfortunate enough to encounter him, and even breaking into and plundering the shops. While it was unknown that he was the author of these excesses, he was often vigorously resisted, and his face sometimes bore evidences of the punishment which he had received. But when it was understood that Nero was the leader in the affrays, persons were more cautious in offering opposition: various bands of rioters joined with impunity in the tumults which were sanctioned by the emperor, and no one, of whatever rank or sex, was secure against nightly aggression. A senator, named Julius Montanus, being provoked by the insults which were offered to his wife, beat the prince so severely that he was unable for several days to appear in public. Montanus might have escaped with impunity, if he had preserved a discreet silence; but when he learned who his opponent was, he solicited his forgiveness, and Nero, chagrined by the discovery of himself, compelled him to die. After this he used greater precaution in his nocturnal combats, and was followed by a band of soldiers and gladiators, who were to succour him whenever he was in danger of being overpowered by his adversaries. Not content with these disorders he encouraged the tumults which were excited in the theatre by the partisans of the different actors, and was as actively engaged in throwing stones and other missiles as the meanest of the people. These contests, at last, were inflamed to such a degree, that it became necessary to banish the actors from Italy, and to renew the military guard at the theatre.

NERO,  
2, 3.  
A. D. 56.

Suet. vi. 26.  
Dion lxi.

It was proposed in the senate that freedmen,

NERO,  
2, 3.  
A. D. 56.  
Tac. Ann. xiii.  
26—28.

who were convicted of ingratitude towards their late masters, should be reduced to their former state of servitude. The measure, however, was rejected, as it was considered unjust to enact a law against a whole body for the delinquency of a few, especially as the freedmen had become exceedingly numerous, and were in possession of most of the petty offices of the state. It was asserted that a large proportion of the knights and senators derived their origin from that class, and that if a separation was made, it would discover the paucity of those who were of free extraction.

The senate exerted a portion of its ancient authority, by restricting the power of the tribunes of the people, and of the ediles. Nero took away the custody of the public records from the quæstors, and bestowed it upon persons who had discharged the office of prætor, and were of tried experience.

NERO,  
3, 4.  
A. D. 57.  
Tac. Ann. xiii.  
31—33.  
Suet. vi. 12.

In the following year Nero built an immense amphitheatre of wood near the Campus Martius, and endeavoured to secure the favour of the people by a donation of money to each man. He pretended to remit the tax of a twenty-fifth part upon the purchase money of slaves; but as the sellers were commanded to pay it, they indemnified themselves by adding it to the price. The buyers, however, were usually Romans, and the sellers foreigners. He issued a salutary edict, forbidding the governors of provinces to exhibit combats of gladiators or any other show; for this kind of munificence was often practised for the purpose of veiling the crimes they had committed, and was as injurious to the subject people as were their avarice and extortion. The senate consulted the greater security of masters by decreeing, that if any one was killed by his slaves, even those who were manumitted by his

will should be punished, as well as the ~~rest~~<sup>\*</sup>, if they had resided under the same roof.

NERO  
3, 4,  
A. D. 57.

Pomponia Græcina, an illustrious woman, was accused of being addicted to a foreign superstition, which, according to the opinion of several commentators, was nothing else than the Christian religion. Her husband A. Plautius, who had distinguished himself by his successes in Britain, was empowered by the ancient law to take cognizance of the affair, and, having done so in the presence of her relations, he pronounced her innocent. She was a woman remarkable for the inconsolable grief which she testified at the fate of Julia, the daughter of Drusus, who had been put to death by Messalina. For forty years after her decease she continued to appear in mourning, and with all the marks of deep sorrow; and this fidelity, which was not punished in the reign of Claudius, afterwards greatly exalted her reputation.

P. Celer, procurator of Asia, being accused by the people of that province, was protected by the favour of Nero, because he had been instrumental in the death of Junius Silanus. Eprius Marcellus, against whom the Lycians preferred a charge of extortion, had sufficient interest to elude justice, and to procure the banishment of some of his accusers. But Cossutianus Capito was unable to resist the vehement complaints of the Cilicians, and was condemned for peculation.

In his third consulship, Nero had for his colleague Valerius Messala, a man of illustrious family, to whom he liberally granted a pension on account of his indigent circumstances. His bounty, how-

NERO,  
4, 5.  
A. D. 58.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
34.

\* It was an old law among the Romans, that if a master was murdered by his slaves, all of them who were living in his house should be put to death.

NERO,  
4, 5.  
A. D. 58.

ever, was not always so discreetly bestowed, as he showed the same favour to Aurelius Cotta and Haterius Antonius, who had wasted their patrimonies by luxury.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
42, 43.

P. Suilius, who had rendered himself hateful in the time of Claudius by prostituting his eloquence in the base occupation of an informer, was now overpowered by the resentment of his enemies. They had expected that a change of times would have produced a change in his disposition: his ferocity, however, was but little abated; and in the invectives, in which he indulged against Seneca, he accused him of dishonouring the family of Germanicus by adultery with Julia, and of amassing immense wealth by usury and the most dishonourable arts. All the reproaches which he uttered were communicated to Seneca, and probably with exaggeration. He was, therefore, brought to trial, and accused of the atrocities which he had committed against numerous individuals during the late reign, and of being the chief instrument of the cruelty of Claudius. In his defence he maintained that he had acted an involuntary part, and had merely obeyed the orders of his prince; but Nero checked him by declaring that he had discovered from the documents of Claudius, that he had never compelled any one to undertake an accusation. Suilius next pleaded the commands of Messalina; but as it was unjust that agents of cruelty should be allowed to impute to others the crimes, of which they themselves had reaped the rewards, he was deprived of part of his property, and banished to the Balearic Isles. Although he was greatly advanced in age, he bore his reverses with fortitude, and is said to have enjoyed in his exile all the pleasures of which it was susceptible. His

accusers afterwards wished to criminate ~~his~~ son Nerulinus; but the emperor interposed, ~~as~~ if he considered that sufficient had been done to satisfy the public vengeance. The condemnation of Suilius excited some degree of odium against Seneca; and it is apparent that his private animosity was gratified in the punishment which was justly inflicted upon the culprit.

NERO,  
4, 5.  
A. D. 68.

About the same time Octavius Sagitta, a tribune of the people, infatuated by the love of Pontia, a married woman, purchased with immense presents a return of his affection, and induced her to leave her husband under a stipulation that she should be united to him. But when Pontia was at liberty, she began to plead excuses for not fulfilling her promise, and at last, allured by the hope of a more wealthy union, treated him with disdain. Octavius, inflamed with disappointment and jealousy, besought from her an interview at night, which was granted; and he visited her in company with a faithful freedman. After using entreaties and expostulations, he suddenly stabbed her with a sword which he had concealed under his garments, and, having wounded the maid-servant who came to her assistance, rushed from the house. On the next day when the murder was divulged, there was little doubt that Octavius was the perpetrator of it: his freedman, however, came forward, and with singular devotion declared that he himself was the culprit, and that he had been instigated to revenge the injuries of his benefactor. Those who doubted the truth of his avowal were amazed at his magnanimity; which, however, was frustrated by the testimony of Pontia's maid, who disclosed the whole truth. Octavius, after abdicating the tribuneship, was arraigned and condemned by the senate.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
44.



NERO,  
4, 5.  
A. D. 58.  
Tac. Ann. xii.  
45, 46.

Intigues, equally disgraceful in their nature, and more pernicious in their consequences, were carried on in the palace. Nero this year became attached to Sabina Poppæa, a woman who was graced with every extrinsic advantage, but totally destitute of virtue. From her mother Poppæa, who had been put to death by Messalina, she had inherited both beauty and illustrious birth; her wealth was competent to support the dignity of her rank; her manners were courteous, and her wit and intellect by no means contemptible. While she freely indulged in licentiousness, she assumed a great appearance of modesty, seldom showing herself in public, and never without veiling part of her face. She was equally willing, however, to submit to an adulterer as to a husband, and with a cold and mercenary spirit readily transferred her affections wherever her interest directed. She was the wife of Rufius Crispinus, a Roman knight, by whom she had a son; when Otho, the gay and powerful friend of the emperor, inveigled her away, and in a short time married her. He was so enraptured with the possession of her, that he was constantly extolling her beauty and elegance in the presence of Nero. The prince was soon inflamed with a desire of seeing the incomparable wife of his favourite, nor did Poppæa fail to exert all her arts and blandishments, to subject him to her power. After she had succeeded in captivating him, the presence of Otho became irksome to both, and he was banished from the emperor's society, and at last appointed lieutenant of the distant province of Lusitania\*.

\* The honorary banishment of Otho gave rise to the following epigram:—

Cur Otho mentito sit, quæritis, exul honore ?  
Uxoris mæchus cæperat esse suæ.

\* Suet. Otho, 3.

Cornelius Sylla, the son-in-law of the Emperor Claudius, became an object of Nero's suspicious dread, although he was naturally indolent, and incapable of any ambitious enterprize; but Nero, to justify his own fears, attributed his quiet demeanour to artifice and dissimulation. An old and crafty freedman, aware of the prince's apprehensions, accused Sylla of having prepared an ambush to destroy the emperor in one of his nocturnal riots. The charge was groundless, and supported by no proof; yet Sylla was commanded to leave Rome, and confine himself within the walls of the city of Marseilles.

NERO  
4, 5.  
A. D. 58.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
47.

The Romans, who were by no means so skilful in financial as in military affairs, left their principal revenues under the management of persons called *publicans*, who, having contracted for the produce of them, endeavoured to enrich themselves by all the arts of rapacity and extortion. Nero, having received frequent complaints of their oppressive conduct, hesitated for a time, whether he would not give the empire a splendid instance of his bounty by ordering the customs to be altogether repealed. This project, which appears to have originated in unthinking caprice more than in genuine liberality, was frustrated by the senators, who reminded him, that if the customs were relinquished, the people would soon demand that the other parts of the revenue should undergo the same fate, and that the empire could not subsist after the extinction of its pecuniary resources. They advised, however, that the cupidity of the publicans should be checked; and for this purpose it was ordered, that the articles and conditions of their contracts, which they used to keep secret, should be published; that abandoned claims should not be recovered by

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
50, 51.

NERO,  
4, 5.  
A. D. 58.

them after the expiration of a year; and that the magistrates at Rome and in the provinces should at all times be ready to hear charges against them. Other just regulations were made, which were observed for a time, but afterwards evaded.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
52.

Sulpicius Camerinus and Pomponius Silvanus, who had been proconsuls in Africa, were accused of crimes committed during their period of office, but neither of them was condemned. The acquittal of Silvanus was attributed to his circumstances, as he was a wealthy old man without children; he survived, however, the greedy expectants by whose interest he escaped. Both historians and poets allude to the adulation, which was often paid at Rome to those who possessed riches without children to inherit them.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
58.

It was considered a portent that the fig-tree called *Ruminalis*, celebrated as having given shelter to Romulus and Remus more than eight hundred years before, withered this year in its trunk and branches. The fears, however, of the Romans were calmed, on seeing it revive and send forth new shoots.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
34—41. v.

The war, which in the two preceding years had been languidly carried on between the Romans and Parthians for the possession of Armenia, was now conducted with greater vigour. Vologeses was unwilling that his brother Tiridates should be deprived of the kingdom which he had bestowed upon him, or that he should receive it as the gift of a foreign power; and Corbulo was resolved to maintain the dignity of the Roman empire, and assert its prowess in arms. The Armenians were waverling and divided in their sentiments, having sent invitations to both the Romans and the Parthians; but they were naturally more disposed to

the Parthians by the contiguity of their country, by an interchange of marriages, and similarity of manners.

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A. D. 58.

Corbulo's first difficulty was to establish a strict discipline among his legions, which, having been quartered in Syria and indulged in long indolence, were ignorant of the most common military duties: even some of the veterans had never been on guard, and looked upon fortifications and intrenchments with an air of surprise. Having dismissed the soldiers that were old and infirm, he ordered new levies to be made, and kept the whole army under tents, although it was necessary to clear away the ice in order to pitch them. The winter was so severe, that many of the soldiers lost their limbs by the intolerable cold, and some of them expired while they were on watch. Corbulo partook of all the labours of his men, encouraged them by his praises, and set them an example of fortitude by appearing in a light dress, and with his head uncovered. Many of them, appalled by the severity of the service, were guilty of desertion; but they were put to death as soon as they were apprehended, and their fate deterred others from committing the same offence. At the approach of spring he commanded his officers not to venture to attack the enemy, but to confine themselves within their fortifications. Pactius Orphitus presumed to disobey this injunction, and was defeated: and, for this offence, he and his soldiers were severely reprov'd, and commanded to station themselves without the entrenchments, which was an ancient mode of military punishment. They were not released from this disgraceful situation, until the whole army interceded in their behalf.

Tiridates, strengthened by the succours of his

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A. D. 58.

brother Vologeses, ravaged those parts of Armenia where the inhabitants were faithful to the Romans, and made many desultory attacks without coming to a general engagement. Corbulo, therefore, was obliged to divide his forces; and, by the aid of Antiochus king of Commagene, Pharasmanes king of Iberia, and a people called the Insechi, he effectually frustrated the plans of his enemy. Tiridates sent ambassadors in the name of himself and the Parthians, to enquire why he was driven from Armenia after the amity which had lately been renewed, and to threaten the Romans with the hostility of Vologeses; but Corbulo, who knew that the Parthian monarch was embarrassed with the revolt of the Hyrcanians, advised Tiridates to offer submission to Cæsar, which would secure him the possession of his kingdom without bloodshed or danger. For the more easy adjustment of their disputes, it was agreed that they should come to a conference; but it was the evident intention of Tiridates to surprise Corbulo, and when he found that his treachery was defeated by the circumspection of the Roman general, he departed without seeking the appointed interview.

To accelerate the termination of the war, Corbulo began to reduce the fortified places of Armenia. He himself attacked the strongest one, and, having captured it without the loss of a single man, he allowed all the grown-up persons to be massacred, sold the rest for prisoners of war, and distributed the booty among his soldiers. His lieutenant and præfect were equally successful, and three castles having been stormed in one day, the defenders of the rest were so dismayed, that they submitted without resistance. The Romans, therefore, proceeded towards Artaxata, the capital

of Armenia; and although Tiridates hovered around them in their march thither, he gained no advantage over them, but retreated at last into Media or Albania. When Corbulo appeared before Artaxata, the inhabitants voluntarily opened their gates, and surrendered themselves to his mercy. In consequence of this submission their lives were preserved; but the city was set on fire and levelled to the ground, as he could not spare sufficient forces to garrison so large a place, and there might be danger in leaving it unguarded. For these achievements honours were heaped upon the prince instead of the general. Nero was saluted *Imperator*; and not only statues and triumphal arches, but extraordinary marks of distinction, were voted to him with the most fulsome adulation.

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The Germanies, during the preceding years, had remained tranquil under the command of Paullinus Pompeius and L. Vetus. The former of these officers, who had charge of the lower province, employed his troops in finishing the dike, which had been commenced by Drusus sixty-three years before, for the purpose of restraining the inundations of the Rhine. L. Vetus projected a still greater undertaking, which was to unite the Moselle and the Saone by a canal, so that there should be a communication by water from the Mediterranean to the German Ocean. But the plan was defeated by the envy of Ælius Gracilis, the lieutenant of the Belgic province, who cautioned Vetus not to engage in enterprises which, while they secured him the favour of the Gauls, might alienate the confidence of the emperor.

Tac. Ann. xiii.  
53—57.

As the Roman armies continued inactive, the barbarians began to imagine that their com-

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A. D. 58.

manders had lost the right of engaging in military operations. Under this delusion the Frisii took possession of some lands near the Rhine, which were not occupied by any inhabitants, but were sometimes used for the grazing of the Roman flocks and herds. They had erected houses, sown the ground, and began to consider the country as their own, when Dubius Avitus, who had succeeded Paullinus, informed them that they must depart, unless they could obtain the emperor's permission to settle there. Their two chieftains, therefore, proceeded to Rome in order to appeal to the clemency of Nero. During their stay in the imperial capital, they visited the theatre of Pompey, and having observed some persons in a foreign dress sitting in the seats allotted to the senators, they inquired for what reason they enjoyed that privilege. When they were informed that it was granted to the ambassadors of those nations who were distinguished for their valour and friendship to the Romans, they replied, that no people were more brave and faithful than the Germans; and to second their pretensions by their actions, they went and took their seat among the senators. Their honest simplicity was courteously received by the Romans, but it gained them no substantial benefit from Nero. He gave, indeed, both of them the freedom of the city of Rome, but commanded that the Frisii should quit the lands which they had occupied. They were disposed to treat his mandate with contempt, but a body of cavalry compelled them to obey it, and slew, or made prisoners, such as were most pertinacious in their resistance.

After they had been ejected, a more powerful nation, called the Ansibarii, took possession of the

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same lands, having been expelled from their own territories by the Chauci, and being anxious to settle in any country that would afford them a refuge from their enemies. They were accompanied by a chieftain named Boiocalus, who for nearly fifty years had served in the armies of the Romans, and had endeavoured to make his countrymen submissive to their sway. He earnestly entreated Avitus to afford them a safe place of exile, which might be granted without detriment to the Romans, who should not, he said, desire to surround themselves with the solitude of deserts rather than the society of friendly nations. Avitus replied, that the Ansibarii must submit to the commands of the Romans, who did not allow any appeal from their authority; but he promised a grant of land to Boiocalus on account of his ancient friendship. The chieftain indignantly rejected the offer, considering it as a solicitation to treachery; and he left the Roman commander, declaring, that though the Ansibarii might have no place wherein to live, there were abundant places where they could die. He invited the Bructeri and other German people to assist them with their arms; but Avitus, in conjunction with the lieutenant of the upper province, deterred every one from granting them succour. The wretched exiles, therefore, wandering from one nation to another, were rejected by all; and after many fruitless marches their youths were all slain, and the multitudes who were unable to bear arms were reduced to captivity. Thus was a whole people sacrificed by the selfish jealousy of the Romans, and by the fears and barbarity of the Germans!

In the same summer a contest arose between the Hermanduri and the Catti for the possession of a river, which flowed between their territories, and



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which was remarkable for the production of salt\*. Their warlike ferocity was heightened by superstition, as they imagined that the country which possessed such natural advantages was the nearest of all others to heaven, and therefore the most suited for mortals to address their prayers to the celestial beings. The Hermanduri were victorious; and, as they had devoted their enemies to Mars and Mercury, they fulfilled their vow by slaughtering the Catti, and destroying their horses and all that belonged to them.

Tacitus relates a phenomenon which occurred in the country of the Juhones, the circumstances of which partake highly of the character of the marvellous. He says, that fires bursting forth from the earth consumed the lands, houses, and villages, and, by the direction in which they proceeded, seemed to threaten the walls of the newly-founded city of Cologne. Neither rain nor any kind of water could extinguish them. At length some rustics in petulant anger cast stones at them, and, finding their violence abated, approached nearer, and began to engage them like wild beasts, with clubs and similar weapons. In the end they subdued them by heaping on them clothes taken from their bodies, and those which were in the most dirty and polluted state were found to be most effectual for the purpose.

\* Supposed to be the river Sala.

## CHAPTER III.

*Nero, instigated by the reproaches of Poppæa, resolves to kill his mother.—Deliberates in what way he shall effect the crime, and adopts the proposal of Anicetus to drown her.—Pretends to desire a reconciliation with her, and invites her to Baia.—She escapes from the vessel which was to destroy her, and Accerronia is killed in her stead.—Nero consults with Burrhus and Seneca, and gives Anicetus authority to assassinate his mother.—Her death and character.—Nero, writing to the Senate, accuses her of various crimes.—He is flattered in his guilt by nearly all persons except Thrasea Pætus.—Enters Rome in a kind of triumph, but is tormented by his conscience.—Kills his aunt Domitia.—Begins to drive chariots, and play the harp in public, and compels the most illustrious citizens to join in his vices and amusements.—Institutes the Juvenalia, and enrolls the Augustani.—Quarrel between the people of Nuceria and Pompeii.—Complaints of the Cyrenians.—Nero institutes new games at Rome.—Alarmed by the rumours of the people, he banishes Rubellius Plautus.—Corbulo marches against Tigranocerta, and takes it.—Repulses Tiridates, in whose place Tigranes is appointed King of Armenia.—Earthquake at Laodicea.—Veterans are sent to Tarentum and Antium, but refuse to settle there.*

NERO, finding himself securely established in the imperial dignity, resolved to execute the crime, which he had long meditated, of destroying the

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Dion. lxi.

Tac. Ann. xiv.

1—8.

Suet. vi. 34.

life of his mother. To this unnatural wickedness he was instigated by the increasing passion which he felt for Poppæa, and the constant reproaches which he heard from her lips. For as she was sensible that she could have little hope of being married to him as long as Agrippina was alive, she exerted all her powers of ridicule and invective to exasperate him against her. Sometimes she taunted him with being in a state of pupillage, declaring that, so far from ruling the empire, he did not rule himself: at other times she expatiated upon the pride and avarice of Agrippina, which, she said, had made her universally odious; nor did she scruple to accuse her of concerting projects against his life. Such accusations, enforced by the tears and blandishments of Poppæa, made a deep impression on Nero's mind; nor did any one endeavour to counteract their effect, as all persons desired to see the influence of Agrippina diminished, and none imagined that the hatred of Nero would urge him to matricide.

His affection being entirely alienated, he began to avoid all intercourse with his mother, and commended her love of retirement, whenever she withdrew from Rome to any of her country seats. At last, his deep aversion having inspired him with the fatal resolution of putting her to death, he deliberated by what means he should effect his purpose. Poison was the first method which occurred to his mind; but he considered that if it was given to her at a public entertainment, her death, after that of Britannicus, could scarcely be attributed to accident; and it was difficult to have it administered to her in private, as her own crimes had taught her vigilance and suspicion, and by the use of antidotes she had fortified her body against the effects of

poison. If she was killed by the sword it was impossible to conceal the murder, or to rely with certainty on the fidelity of those who were selected for its perpetration. An expedient, therefore, was suggested by Anicetus, his freedman, who was commander of the fleet at Misenum, and who had been familiar with Nero from his boyhood, having been entrusted with part of his education. Between him and Agrippina there was a violent animosity, and he advised that she should be destroyed by means of a ship (such as had been seen at the theatres) so constructed that it might at any time be made to fall to pieces, and bury its passengers in the sea. No place, observed this mischievous instructor, was the scene of so many accidents as the deep, and why should any one be so unjust as to ascribe to deliberate wickedness what might have been effected by the winds and waves? After the death of his mother, the prince might show the most ostentatious regard for her memory, and cause temples and altars to be erected to her, as to a goddess!

Nero was pleased with the infernal project, and considered that the festival days\* of Minerva, which he intended to keep at Baiaë, would offer a favourable opportunity for the execution of it. He pretended that he was desirous of a reconciliation with his mother, and feigning the most amicable sentiments towards her, repeatedly declared that it was but just to bear the infirmities of parents, and to soothe their anger. He afterwards wrote an affectionate letter, inviting her to spend the holidays with him; in consequence of which she set sail from Antium. At the end of her voyage she found him waiting on the beach to receive her, and

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A. D. 59.

\* The *Quinquatrus* or *Quinquatria*, beginning on the 19th of March.

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after exchanging embraces, was conducted by him to Bauli, which was a splendid villa situated between Misenum and Baiæ. He had ordered that the vessel in which she came should be shattered, as if by accident, and that the one which had been contrived for her destruction should be beautifully rigged, and substituted in its place. In this, after a magnificent entertainment, which he purposely protracted till night, he intended that she should sail to Baiæ: she had gained, however, sufficient intimation of the plot to excite her suspicions, and instead of going by sea, she was carried to Baiæ in a sedan. Nero endeavoured by every possible art to allay her fears; he soothed her by his caresses and conversation, and flattered her with gifts and marks of distinction, till at last her confidence revived, and she prepared to return to Bauli in the fatal vessel, under the guidance of Anicetus. Nero, in taking leave of her, fixed his eyes more earnestly upon her, and embraced her more tenderly than usual; either because he wished to complete the perfidious part which he had begun, or because even his savage nature was softened by the last look of a mother, whom he had doomed to destruction.

It happened that the night was star-light, and the sea tranquil, which frustrated Nero's hopes of concealing his atrocious wickedness. Agrippina embarked in company with two attendants, Crepereius Gallus and Acerronia; the latter of whom placed herself at her feet, as she reclined on a bed, and congratulated her on the altered disposition of her son, and their happy reconciliation. The vessel had not proceeded far, when the roof of the cabin, which had been loaded with lead, fell down, and instantly crushed Crepereius to death; but

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Agrippina and Acerronia were protected<sup>1</sup> by the sides of the bed, which were strong enough to resist the descending weight. The confusion which arose on board prevented the entire dissolution of the vessel which was intended; because the men who were ignorant of the plot obstructed the endeavours of those who were privy to it. It was afterwards determined by the rowers to incline the galley on one side, and sink it; but as they did not, on the sudden emergency, act in concert, it descended but gently into the waters. Acerronia, anxious to save her own life, called out that she was Agrippina, and commanded the sailors to help her; but the consequence of her selfish perfidy was, that they attacked her with oars and poles, and beat her to death. Agrippina, preserving a more cautious silence, received but one wound on her shoulder, and having swam for a time was met by some barks, which carried her to her own villa near the Lucrine Lake. When she had leisure to reflect upon the extraordinary manner in which the galley had been sunk, upon the death of Acerronia, and the wound which had been inflicted on herself, she could not doubt that a treacherous plot had been concerted against her life, and at the same time she was sensible that it was necessary for her to feign ignorance of it. She, therefore, sent her freedman Agerinus to inform the Emperor that, by the mercy of the gods, she had escaped from imminent danger, and that, whatever alarm he might feel for her, she requested that at present he would abstain from visiting her, as she had need of repose. In the mean time she ordered her wound to be dressed, and pretended to be free from all apprehension of danger. Even in such a crisis her avarice did not forsake her, as she com-

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manded that the will of Acerronia should be sought for, and a seal set on her property. Nero, who had been waiting with trembling anxiety to learn the fate of his mother, no sooner heard that she had escaped with a slight wound, than he was seized with the most violent terror, imagining that she would excite the soldiers, or appeal to the senate and people, to indulge her revenge. He immediately sent for Seneca and Burrhus, the former of whom (according to Dion) had incited him to destroy Agrippina; but Tacitus says, that it was uncertain whether they were previously acquainted with the designs against her. They both observed a long silence, either thinking it useless to dissuade Nero from his intentions, or fearing that his life, as well as their own, would be sacrificed, unless Agrippina perished. Seneca at length turned to Burrhus, and asked him if the soldiers could be ordered to execute the deed; but he replied, that the guards were attached to the whole family of the Cæsars, and that their love for the memory of Germanicus would not allow them to act with violence against any of his posterity; he added, that Anicetus might accomplish what he had undertaken. The daring freedman consented without any hesitation; and Nero, calling him his benefactor and the preserver of his empire, commanded him to use dispatch, and to take with him what associates he pleased. As soon as he heard that Agerinus had come with a message from his mother, he conceived that a plausible falsehood might be invented to conceal the horrible crime which he had sanctioned. When the man was conducted into his presence, he cast a poniard between his feet, and, declaring that he came to murder him, commanded that he should be put in

chains ; and he intended to affirm that his mother, after a fruitless attempt upon his life, had been urged by despair to take away her own.

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As the rumour of Agrippina's disaster increased, multitudes of people, who supposed it to have been accidental, flocked during the darkness of night to all parts of the adjoining shore, and, when they heard that she was safe, prepared to offer their congratulations. They dispersed, however, on seeing Anicetus approach with an armed band. He immediately surrounded the villa, and, having forced the gate, seized such of the slaves as he met, and advanced to the chamber of Agrippina. She was sitting attended by a single maid-servant, and was alarmed at not having received any communication from her son ; her fears increased, when she observed that the crowds had deserted the sea-shore, and heard the sudden tumult of the assailants at her gate. Her maid-servant fled from the approaching danger ; and she had no sooner uttered " Will you also forsake me ? " than she saw that Anicetus had entered her chamber, accompanied by the captain of a trireme, and a centurion of the marines. She could scarcely mistake the object of their visit ; but, assuming an air of confidence, she informed Anicetus, that if he came to enquire after her health, he might report that she was better ; if he came for any guilty purpose, she would not believe that it originated with her son, who (she was persuaded) would not order the death of his mother. The assassins, intent upon their crime, surrounded the bed where she was lying, and Hercules, the captain, first struck her on the head with a club : as the centurion drew his sword, she stretched forward her body, and exclaimed, " Strike my womb ; " after which



NERO,  
5, 6.  
A. D. 59.

Tac. Ann. xiv.  
9—11.  
Suet. vi. 34,

she was soon dispatched by the numerous wounds which they inflicted on her\*.

It was affirmed by some persons that Nero, after the murder of his mother, had the barbarity to go and inspect her corpse, and that he admired the beauty of her limbs. Tacitus, however, acknowledges that this story was not uncontroverted, and it seems scarcely probable, as her body was burned the same night. Her obsequies were performed with very little ceremony, and she was not even honoured with a tomb during the life of Nero; but some of her domestics afterwards raised a small sepulchre near the road to Misenum. Mnester, her freedman, stabbed himself at her funeral pile, but it is not known whether he was urged by fidelity to his mistress, or by the fear of exile. Such was the fate of Agrippina, who, though the daughter of the most virtuous and illustrious parents, was polluted by a greater number of atrocious crimes than are usually found in the most corrupt individual. Pride, ambition, avarice, treachery, cruelty, and lust were all mingled in her odious character; and as she had been guilty of incest with her uncle, so (according to several authors) she would not have abstained from incest even with her son, if Seneca had not defeated her horrible purpose. Her extraordinary crimes were visited at last with extraordinary punishment, as the son, whom she had corrupted by her example, and for whose sake she had perpetrated a great part of her wickedness, was destined to loathe her, and in the end to defile himself with her blood.

\* Dion relates, though probably with some exaggeration, that she leaped from the bed, and having rent her garments, and bared her womb, exclaimed: "Strike this, Anicetus, strike this, because it brought forth Nero."

Nero was no sooner assured of her death than he began to be sensible of the enormity of his crime. During the remainder of the night he was absorbed in gloomy silence, or agitated with violent fears, expecting that the approach of day would consign him to destruction. The tribunes and centurions of the prætorian guards were the first to relieve his apprehensions, by coming to congratulate him on having escaped from the dangerous machinations of his mother; and it is a stigma on the name of Burrhus, that he was the person who incited them to this act of base adulation. The friends of Nero afterwards proceeded to the temples to offer thanks for his safety, and their hypocritical example was imitated by the people of the neighbouring towns of Campania. While they feigned joy, he thought that the opposite passion became him, and he, therefore, pretended to be deeply grieved at the fate of his mother. The scene, however, of his crimes could not assume a flattering aspect like the countenances of men, and he resolved to leave the shores and the hills, which reminded him of his crime, and which (according to the belief of some persons) were disturbed by the sound of trumpets, and the groans of his mother. He therefore departed to Naples and addressed a letter to the senate, alleging that Agrippina had sent her freedman to assassinate him, and that she had expiated her intended crime by putting herself to death. He reprobated her former conduct in endeavouring to assume a share in the government of the empire; he imputed to her the crimes which had been committed under the reign of Claudius, and pretended to regard her death as a public advantage. His account of her shipwreck, and of the plot of

NERO  
5, 6.  
A. D. 59.

NERO,  
5, 6.  
A. D. 59.

Dion. lxi.  
Tac. Ann. xiii.  
12, 13.

Agerinus, was too improbable to impose on the credulity of any one; so that the letter was considered as a confession of his crime, and Seneca was blamed for being the author of such a composition. But though the senators disbelieved their prince, they knew what compliances were expected from them, and therefore decreed that thanksgivings should be offered in all the temples, and that the birth-day of Agrippina should be considered unholy, together with other instances of their ready servility. The only person who dared to show any disapprobation was Thræsea Pætus, who, as soon as the emperor's letter was read, arose and left the senate, as he knew that he could not avow his own free sentiments, and he did not wish to sanction the base sentiments of others. This honourable Roman used to express his indignation at the abject flatterers with whom he was surrounded, by declaring, that he could pardon them, if their meanness was likely to have the effect of saving their lives; but when it was evident that Nero would not spare those who submitted to him, any more than those who opposed him, it was better to pay the inevitable debt of nature with noble freedom, than slavish ignominy. Nero (he constantly observed) may put me to death, but he cannot do me any injury. Such was the magnanimity of his sentiments, which were not displayed for empty ostentation, but applied to the direction of his conduct during the universal degeneracy of his countrymen.

Nero, in order to increase the odium attached to his mother's name, affected a greater degree of clemency after her death, and recalled some persons who had been banished on her account, and some who had been banished by himself. His anxiety, concerning the reception which

he might experience from the senate and people at Rome, induced him to stay in the towns of Campania, until the flagitious advisers, with whom his court abounded, assured him that the name of Agrippina was hateful, and that her death had inflamed the zeal of the people in his behalf. • On his approach to the city he found their declarations fully verified; for the tribes came out to meet him, the senators were in their festal robes, troops of women and children were arranged according to their age and sex, and scaffolds were erected on the road, as if for the view of a triumphal procession. Amidst such an assemblage the matricide emperor proudly ascended the Capitol, and returned thanks to the gods; and perhaps there was never a scene more degrading to human beings, in which, one man having insulted all the natural feelings of virtue, myriads of others spontaneously met to behold and applaud him!

NERO?  
5, 6.  
A. D. 59.

Yet all the congratulations of the military, the senate, and the people, could not effectually allay the tumults of a reproachful conscience. Nero often acknowledged that he seemed haunted by the spectre of his mother, and pursued by the scourges and burning torches of the Furies. He had recourse even to magical ceremonies, in order to evoke her spirit, and propitiate her anger. When he visited Greece, he was afraid to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, as a herald solemnly commanded all wicked and impious persons to abstain from them. At Rome, notwithstanding the general obsequiousness of the citizens, free and satirical censures were sometimes passed upon his conduct. One night a sack was suspended from his statue, intimating that he ought to be cast into it, and undergo the punishment of parricides.

Suet. vi.  
34—39.  
Dion. lxi.

NERO,  
5, 6.  
A. D. 59.

A child was exposed in the forum with this label affixed to it: "I will not bring you up, for fear you should kill your mother;" and in various parts of the city it was written, "Nero, Orestes, and Alcmæon, were all guilty of matricide." Persons did not scruple in conversation to accuse the emperor of such a crime, and some were indicted for it; but he did not encourage these prosecutions, either thinking it more prudent to suppress the offensive rumours, or beginning to grow callous to public reproach.

The murder of his mother was followed by that of his aunt Domitia, a woman so old and infirm that she must soon have died in the course of nature. When he visited her in her sickness, she stroked in a fondling manner the down upon his chin, and said, that when that was shaven off she should be willing to die; upon which he turned to his friends with a laugh, and declared that he would shave it off immediately. He ordered the physicians to give her some violent medicine, which was fatal to her, and he seized her property before she died, commanding her will to be suppressed.

Tac. Ann.  
xiv. 14.

The authority of his mother had hitherto been a slight restraint upon his conduct, but he began now freely to indulge the lowest propensities of his mind. He had always felt a vehement desire for driving chariots, and playing on the harp; the latter of which, he declared, was the amusement of ancient kings and heroes, and the art of Apollo himself. Seneca and Burrhus, who found it difficult to oppose his inclinations, allowed him to drive chariots in an enclosure at the foot of the Vatican hill, hoping that this diversion would satisfy his ardour. But the people were soon invited to witness his skill, and the applause which

they bestowed upon him greatly heightened his desire of displaying his accomplishments. Thinking that there would be less disgrace in the pursuit of his favourite amusements, if others appeared as warmly attached to them as himself, he induced the most illustrious citizens of Rome to sanction his example. Men and women of the highest rank, the descendants of the Furii, the Fabii, and the Valerii, began to play on the flute and the harp, to dance, to perform tragedies and comedies, to drive horses, slay wild beasts, and act the part of gladiators. Some engaged in these diversions willingly, some by constraint, and some on account of the gifts with which Nero bribed their poverty. For the exhibition of their skill he instituted games called *Juvenalia*; and it was then (according to Dion) this veteran in wickedness first shaved his beard, and enclosing the hairs in a golden box dedicated them to Jupiter Capitolinus. At length, having arrayed himself in a suitable dress, he appeared on the stage, singing and playing upon the harp. He was attended by a cohort of soldiers, and Burrhus and Seneca, standing near him, were compelled to applaud a performance which filled them with grief. A body of Roman knights was enrolled under the name of *Augustani*, whose occupation it was constantly to praise the beauty and merits of their prince, as if he had been a god, and to extol his voice, which, however, was both weak and husky. In a grove near the Tiber, taverns and brothels were erected, and every incentive to luxury and sensuality was provided. Even the good were constrained to take a part in these scenes; so that the whole city was abandoned to revelry and vice; and those evil passions, which the strictest laws and discipline can scarcely

NERO,  
5, 6.  
A. D. 59.

NERO,  
5, 6.  
A. D. 59.

restrain, were publicly sanctioned and encouraged. Amidst such profligacy Nero affected a certain degree of literary taste, and held assemblies of poets, who were required to make verses in his presence, and to assist his own crude efforts. The philosophers, also, were occasionally summoned after an entertainment, in order to amuse him with their altercations in maintaining their different opinions.

Tac. Ann. xiv.  
17—19.

A violent tumult was excited between the people of Nuceria and Pompeii, during an exhibition of gladiators which was given in the latter city. The quarrel began in sportive petulance, but the contending parties at last had recourse to the sword, and many of the Nucerini were wounded and slain. When the affair came under the cognizance of the Roman senate, the leaders in it were banished, and the people of Pompeii were debarred from such assemblies for the space of ten years.

Pedius Blæsus, being accused by the people of Cyrene of having violated the treasury of Æsculapius, and of being influenced by bribery in military affairs, was ejected from the senate. The Cyrenians also appealed against Acilius Strabo, whom Claudius had appointed arbiter in a question of disputed territory between them and the Romans. Nero confirmed the sentence of Strabo, by which he had decided against the Cyrenians; but at the same time, professing his readiness to befriend his allies, he surrendered the lands of which they had taken possession.

Domitius Afer and M. Servilius died this year. They were both illustrious men, and distinguished for their eloquence; but while Servilius was equal to the former in his genius, he was more irreproachable in his life.

Nero in his fourth consulship established musical, gymnastic, and equestrian contests, in imitation of the Greeks, which were to be celebrated every five years, and called *Neronia*. Many of the more rigid citizens were averse to such an innovation; but nothing remarkably disgraceful occurred in the spectacles. Nero was declared victorious in the trial of eloquence. It appears that the pantomimic actors, who had been banished from Italy a few years before, were now restored, but took no part in these exhibitions.

NERO,  
6, 7.  
A. D. 60.

Tac. Ann. xiv.  
20—22.  
Suet. vi. 12.

The appearance of a comet was considered by the vulgar as portending a change in their government, and they immediately began to frame conjectures as to the person destined to be Nero's successor. Their unanimous opinion selected Rubellius Plautus, on account of his noble birth, as his mother Julia was the daughter of Drusus. His destiny appeared still more certain after an accident which occurred at one of Nero's entertainments, when the food was struck, and the table overturned by lightning; and as this happened on the borders of the Tiburtian country, from which the family of Plautus came, the weak and superstitious believed that the gods clearly portended his future elevation. Plautus himself was spending his days in virtuous retirement, when Nero, alarmed by the rumours which he heard, addressed a letter to him, advising him to consult the peace of the city by removing to his estates in Asia, where he might live in tranquillity. In obedience to this command, he departed with his wife Antistia and a few of his friends.

Nero about this time endangered his own life by bathing in a fountain which was esteemed sacred. The people considered him guilty of a profane action, and the illness with which he was



NERO;  
6, 7.  
A. D. 60.

attacked, although it might have arisen from the coldness of the water, seemed to confirm their opinion.

Tac. Ann. xiv.  
23—26.

Corbulo, having destroyed Artaxata, the capital of Armenia, resolved to prosecute his successes by attacking the city of Tigranocerta. In his march thither, some of the barbarians offered submission and were treated with lenity; some fled from his approach, but were quickly pursued; others concealed themselves in caves, but were compelled to evacuate them by the fires which he kindled at their mouths. The Mardi, a people accustomed to predatory attacks, harassed him as he passed their confines, and seemed protected against his vengeance by the mountainous nature of their country; but he repressed their incursions by detaching a body of Iberians against them. Although no enemy was able to oppose his progress, his troops suffered severely from the length of their marches, from the want of water and corn\*, and from the heat of the weather: all which evils Corbulo himself bore to a greater extent and with firmer patience than the meanest of his soldiers. He found that part of the barbarians concealed treacherous designs under their offers of friendship, and he narrowly escaped death from the hand of an assassin, who was apprehended near his tent. The inhabitants, however, of Tigranocerta opened their gates to him, and, on account of this submission, their property was exempted from plunder; but the castle was shut against him by some resolute youths, and he was compelled to take it by assault. During these

\* Tacitus notices it as a hardship, that they were compelled to live upon the flesh of cattle. There is a similar passage in Cæsar, B. G. vii. 17, quoted in a note by Gronovius; and it appears from the two, that the Roman soldiers considered the want of corn, even with a sufficiency of animal food, to be little better than famine.


NERO,  
6, 7.  
A. D. 60.

operations the Parthians were engaged in the Hyrcanian war; and the Hyrcanians sent ambassadors to solicit the alliance of the Romans, alleging as a proof of their friendship that Vologeses was detained by their arms.

Tiridates, having penetrated to the frontiers of his kingdom through Media, was repulsed by the Romans, and forced to abandon all hope of reconquering Armenia. Tigranes, who had been appointed by Nero to fill his throne, soon afterwards arrived. He was a descendant of Archelaus, one of the former kings of Cappadocia, but had resided so long at Rome in the character of a hostage, that his disposition was not merely humble but servile. Some of the Armenians, preserving their regard for the family of the Arsacida, submitted to him with reluctance; but most of them had become disgusted with the pride of the Parthians, and were willing to receive a monarch that was supported by the Roman authority. Corbulo, having left him some forces for the protection of his new kingdom, departed into Syria, of which he had been nominated lieutenant. The whole of Armenia was not granted to Tigranes, but parts of it were placed under the sway of Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, and other neighbouring princes.

The city of Laodicea in Phrygia was shaken by an earthquake, but was enabled to repair the injury which it had received, without any assistance from the Romans. Veterans were sent to Tarentum and Antium for the purpose of colonizing those towns; but instead of settling there, many of them returned to the provinces in which they had formerly served. Tacitus remarks, that they were a multitude of men more than a

NERO,  
6, 7.  
A. D. 60.



colony\*, being unknown to each other, and without any ruler or common tie of affection; whereas in ancient times whole legions, with their tribunes, and centurions, and soldiers of every rank, were led out as colonists, and by their unanimity and mutual good-will easily adjusted themselves into the form of a commonwealth.

\* *Numerus magis quam colonia.* This description may probably point out the reason why attempts at colonization are often unsuccessful.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Suetonius defeats the Britons in the Isle of Anglesey, and burns their groves.—Boadicea instigates the Icenii and Trinobantes to take up arms.—Storming of Camalodunum, and defeat of a Roman legion.—Massacre of the people of London and Verulamium.—Boadicea poisons herself on the defeat of her forces.—Cruelty of Suetonius.—Polycletus sent into Britain, and Petronius Turpilianus appointed lieutenant.—Eminent persons at Rome condemned for forging a will.—The præfect of Rome killed by one of his slaves.—Death of Memmius Regulus.—Antistius accused of libel.—Saved from death by the firmness of Thrasea.—Death of Burrhus.—Rufus and Tigellinus succeed him.—Seneca requests permission to retire from court.—Plautus and Sylla put to death in their exile.—Octavia divorced and banished.—Recalled, to the great joy of the people.—Again banished to the island of Pandataria, and there killed.—Deaths of Doryphorus and Pallas.—Law against pretended adoptions, and, against testimonials granted to governors of provinces.*

BRITAIN, in the following year, endeavoured to liberate itself from the Roman yoke, and became the scene of violent and sanguinary conflicts. Paullinus Suetonius, who was eminent for his military skill, was then lieutenant of the island, and, during the two years in which he had held the command, had been successful in subjecting the inhabitants to his authority. The victories of

NERO,  
7, 8.  
A. D. 61.

Dion. lxii.  
Tac. Vit. Agr.  
14—16.  
Tac. Ann. xiv.  
20—39.

NERO,  
7, 8.  
A. D. 61.



Corbulo, with whom the people had compared him, encouraged him to extend his achievements, and to attack the isle of Anglesey, which had become a place of refuge for those who were averse to the domination of the Romans. He transported his infantry from the opposite coast in flat-bottomed vessels, and commanded the cavalry to ford the channel, or swim across it. He found a dense multitude of Britons assembled on the shore, women running amongst them, like the furies, with dishevelled hair, and torches in their hands, and the Druids lifting their arms to heaven, and uttering terrific imprecations. The Romans were at first alarmed by so unusual a spectacle; but the exhortations of their general, and their own reflections, soon taught them not to be intimidated by a frantic crowd. They advanced, therefore, to the attack, and completely routed the barbarians. They cut down the groves on the island, which were polluted with horrid ceremonies; for the Britons, as well as the Germans and Gauls, were accustomed to immolate captives upon their altars, and to explore the will of the gods in the entrails of human creatures.

While Suetonius was absent in the west, intelligence reached him, that the eastern part of his province was agitated by a dreadful rebellion. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni\*, who was renowned for his opulence, had nominated the Roman Emperor as co-heir with his two daughters, hoping that such a mode of bequest would secure his kingdom and family from all aggression. The contrary effect, however, ensued; for his kingdom was occupied by Roman soldiers, and his family invaded by the slaves of the emperor. These insolent rulers scourged his wife Boadicea, and committed violence

\* People of Norfolk, &c.

upon his two daughters; they reduced his relations to servitude, and, as if the whole country had been transferred to their possession, ejected the principal men of the Icenî from their ancient estates. Incensed by these intolerable injuries, Boadicea persuaded her countrymen to fly to arms, and they were joined by the Trinobantes\*, and such others as were weary of submitting to the cruelty and rapacity of the Romans. Their chief enmity was excited against a colony of veterans, lately settled at Camalodunum†, who drove them from their lands and houses, and insulted them with the appellation of captives and slaves. There was also at this place a temple erected to the deified Claudius, which the Britons considered as a monument of their degradation, as they were obliged to defray the expenses attendant upon its priests and sacrifices. As the town was destitute of fortifications, they thought it might be destroyed without difficulty; and they were encouraged by some real or imaginary omens to venture upon the attack. The Romans had only a moderate garrison there, and when they requested some troops from Catus Decianus the procurator, he sent them but two hundred men, and those not completely armed. Although they were apprehensive of danger, they took but few precautions to avert it, when they were suddenly surrounded by a multitude of infuriated barbarians, who immediately plundered and burnt the town. The temple, into which the Roman troops retreated, was besieged by them for two days, and then carried by assault. Petilius Cerialis, the lieutenant of the ninth legion, hastened to the succour of his countrymen; but all his in-

NERO,  
7, 8.  
A. D. 61.

\* People of Essex and Middlesex.

† Supposed to be Maldon in Essex.

NERO,  
7, 8.  
A. D. 61.

fantry were put to the sword, and he was compelled to retreat to his camp with the cavalry. The procurator Catus, whose avarice had contributed to kindle the war, fled with trepidation into Gaul.

Suetonius, however, was undismayed, and proceeded through the midst of his enemies to London, which even at that early period was distinguished for the extent of its commerce. The small amount of his forces, and the defeat of Petilius, discouraged him from making it the seat of war, and he thought it better to sacrifice one town than to lose the whole province. He gave, therefore, the signal for departure, and all the tears and entreaties of the terrified inhabitants could not induce him to remain with them; those, who pleased, followed his army, and such as stayed behind through infirmity or affection for the place were massacred by the barbarians. The town of Verulamium\* experienced the same fate; for the Britons, abstaining from the fortified places, attacked those where they were likely to meet the least opposition, and to gain the greatest booty. They are said to have killed about eighty thousand of the Roman citizens and allies; they were regardless of keeping any prisoners, but, intent upon vengeance alone, murdered, burnt, crucified, and impaled all who came in their way. Dion relates, that they suspended the noblest women in a state of nudity, and, having cut off their breasts, sewed them to their mouths, that they might appear to feed upon them; they afterwards drove stakes through the whole length of their bodies. They committed these cruelties amidst feasting and sacrifices, assembling for that purpose in their temples, but

\* Near St. Albans.

chiefly in the grove of Andate, the goddess of victory.

NERO  
7, 8.  
A. D. 61.

Suetonius, having collected an army of about ten thousand men, chose a position which was protected by a narrow approach in front, and by a wood in the rear, in order that he might engage upon more equal terms with the immense multitude of the Britons. Their number is said to have amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand; but among these were probably included their wives, whom they had brought to be spectators of their victory, and placed in waggons at the extremity of the field of battle. Boadicea\*, who was conspicuous for her lofty stature, fierce mien, and profusion of yellow hair which descended to the middle of her body, was carried in a chariot with her two daughters, and exhorted the Britons to avenge the loss of their own liberty, and the insults which herself and children had suffered from the unbridled licentiousness of the Romans. She declared, that they had already destroyed one legion which had ventured to meet them, and that those forces, which now opposed them, would not be able to sustain the noise of their shouts, much less the fury of their attack. If they reflected, she said, upon the numbers of the two armies, or the objects for which they were fighting, they would be inspired with the resolution either to conquer or to die. Such, she added, was the alternative which she had proposed to her own mind: would they, who were men, submit to live in disgrace and slavery?

Suetonius, on the other hand, exhorted the Romans not to be terrified by the tumult and empty threats of barbarians, whose army was com-

\* The name of this heroine is written in various ways. Dion calls her *Bunduica*.



HERO,  
7, 8.  
A. D. 61.

posed of women more than men. He commanded them to keep their ranks close, and, after having thrown their javelins, to attack with the sword, and to continue the slaughter of their foes, without regarding the booty, which must eventually be the reward of the conquerors. His troops, who were old and experienced soldiers, testified so much ardour, that he gave the signal for battle with a certain presage of victory. At the beginning of the engagement they remained stationary, being defended by the strength of their position; but when the missiles began to be exhausted, the light and heavy armed, together with the cavalry, sallied forth, and overthrew the foremost and strongest ranks of the enemy. The rest of the barbarians took to flight, but found their escape impeded by the vehicles with which they had surrounded themselves. The Romans did not spare the women, nor even the beasts of burden; and, according to some accounts, they slaughtered nearly eighty thousand Britons, while only four hundred were killed on their own side, and not many more wounded. Boadicea, unwilling to be subjected to the mercy of the victors, killed herself by poison; and her wretched people found it impossible to resist an enemy, who was so far superior to them in discipline and the arts of war.

Suetonius was strengthened with some reinforcements from Germany, and carried fire and sword into the territory of those Britons, who had engaged in the war, or whose fidelity he suspected. Although distinguished for many great qualities, he treated the vanquished with cruelty and arrogance, and punished their rebellion as an affront to his own authority. His inexorable disposition gave some pretext to the complaints of his enemy

Julius Classicianus, who had succeeded Catus in the office of procurator, and who declared that there could be no peace in Britain, while Suetonius was commander there. The emperor, therefore, sent one of his freedmen, named Polycletus, to investigate the state of the island, imagining that he would possess sufficient authority not only to reconcile the lieutenant and procurator, but even to incline the minds of the Britons to a peaceful submission. Polycletus, on account of the vast retinue which accompanied him, was received with great deference by the Romans; but the Britons held him in derision, as their notions of liberty did not allow them to ascribe dignity to a freedman, and they could not forbear wondering that a general and army, who had lately performed the greatest achievements, should pay obedience to one who had been a slave. Suetonius, although the account which was transmitted to Rome was not unfavourable to him, did not long retain the command, but was succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus, who had just laid down the consulship. The new lieutenant showed greater clemency to the Britons, and, by abstaining from all provocation, was able to preserve the island in a state of tranquillity. Nero, Suet. vi. 18. who was careless about extending the limits of the empire, entertained some thoughts of withdrawing his army altogether from Britain; but he was reluctant to do any thing derogatory to the memory of Claudius.

At Rome several persons of distinction were detected in a disgraceful plot for forging a will, in order to obtain the wealth of Domitius Balbus, whose old age and want of children had rendered him the object of such a fraud. The principal of them were punished, except Asinius Marcellus, who Tac. Ann. xiv. 40—47.

NERO,  
7, 8.  
A. D. 61.

NERO,  
7, 8.  
A. D. 61.

was pardoned for the sake of his illustrious ancestors, and through the intercession of Nero. The infamy, however, of the crime, to which he had been tempted by a pusillanimous dread of poverty, was aggravated rather than diminished by the renown of his forefathers.

Not long afterwards, Pedanius Secundus, the præfect of Rome, was assassinated by one of his slaves. When the ancient law; which condemned to death all slaves residing under the same roof, was going to be enforced, the people, with tumultuous violence, exclaimed against this indiscriminate cruelty; for there were no less than four hundred in the family of the præfect, of different ages and sexes, and many of them unquestionably innocent. Some of the senators were averse to extreme rigour, but C. Cassius, who was eminent for his knowledge of the laws, maintained that the execution of the sentence was necessary for their own safety. He argued that their ancestors had been justly suspicious of their slaves, even when they were born in their own houses, or upon their estates; but as Rome was now filled with slaves, who practised foreign rites of religion, or no rites at all, it was impossible to restrain so large and incongruous a crowd, except by intimidation. His opinion prevailed; but the people offered such resistance, that Nero was obliged to reprove them by an edict, and to place a military guard along the whole way by which the condemned slaves were led to execution. Thus the cruel system of ancient slavery required other cruelties to support it, and what was repugnant to the common feelings of humanity was held justifiable by the law of self-preservation.

Memmius Regulus died this year, having ob-

tained so high a reputation for virtue, that when Nero was ill, and his flatterers lamented that there would be an end to the empire unless he recovered; he replied, that the state would find a support in Memmius Regulus. After this dangerous testimony in his favour, Regulus was suffered to live, because his habits were tranquil, and neither his birth nor fortune very eminent. But what must have been the condition of the Roman empire, if the courtly flatterers were to be credited, who averred that it would be impossible to supply the loss of the incomparable Nero!

NERO,  
7, 8.  
A. D. 61.

This year, also, a gymnasium was established by the emperor, and oil for the exercises was given to the senators and knights. This was a species of liberality derived from the example of the Greeks.

In the following year, actions for libel and treason began to be renewed, Antistius, the prætor, being accused of composing scurrilous verses against the emperor, and reciting them at an entertainment given by Ostorius Scapula. Although Ostorius denied that he had heard any thing upon the subject, yet greater credit was given to the witnesses upon the opposite side; so that Marullus, the consul elect, proposed that the defendant should be deprived of his prætorship and put to death. The other senators were inclined to adopt this resolution, when Pætus Thrasea boldly opposed it as unnecessarily cruel, and advised that the offender should suffer the confiscation of his property, and be banished to some island. The liberty of Thrasea animated many others with a similar spirit, and his motion was carried with few dissentient voices. The consuls, however, were afraid to execute the decree, without apprising the emperor, who, after delaying some time between

NERO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.  
Tac. Ann. xiv.  
48—51.

NERO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.

shame and anger, wrote word back; that Antistius without any provocation had grossly libelled his prince, and it was only just that a punishment proportionate to his crime should be inflicted on him; that he should have felt it his duty to restrain their severity, but would be no obstacle to their clemency; that they might determine as they pleased, and even acquit the accused, if they thought proper. Although Nero's chagrin was evident by this answer, yet Thrasea firmly persisted in his purpose, and the majority of the senate continued to support him. Fabricius Veiento, who was accused of writing libels against the senators and priests, was banished from Italy, and his books were ordered to be burned. Tacitus remarks, that as long as there was any danger in procuring them, they were sought for and read with eagerness; afterwards, when the perusal of them was allowed, they sunk into oblivion.

Suet. vi. 35.

Burrhus, the prætorian præfect, died this year, either from natural causes, or, what was more generally suspected, by the perfidious cruelty of Nero. He was afflicted with a disorder in the throat, and it was believed that the emperor, under pretence of sending him a remedy, caused his death by some poisonous application. When the emperor visited him during his sickness, Burrhus, aware of his treachery, turned away his countenance, and briefly replied to his inquiries, "I am well." He was greatly esteemed for his virtue, although he appears to have been too lenient to the vices of Nero; and he was doubly regretted by the Romans, when they compared him with those who succeeded him in his office. For two prætorian præfects were now appointed; Fenius Rufus, who was popular with the army and the people, but was devoid of

energy; and Sofonius Tigellinus, a man disfigured with the most flagrant vices, and ready to pander to, and comply with, all the corrupt inclinations of Nero.

NERO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.

The influence of Seneca was greatly weakened by the death of Burrhus, who had always acted in union with him, and he began to be attacked by the profligate counsellors to whom the prince had surrendered himself. They accused him of having amassed greater wealth than became a private individual, of attracting the favour of the citizens towards himself, and of attempting to surpass the emperor in the beauty of his gardens, and the magnificence of his villas. They alleged that he wished to engross the praise of eloquence, of poetry, and of every thing that was distinguished in the state; that he was hostile to the amusements of the prince, disparaging his skill in drawing, and the sweetness of his voice in singing; that Nero, who had now passed the age of boyhood, ought to be liberated from his preceptor, and guide himself by the example of his illustrious ancestors. Seneca, who was apprized by his friends of the detraction which was levelled against him, and who perceived that the emperor shunned his society, requested an audience of him; and when it was granted, he addressed him in a premeditated speech, declaring, that he had received from him the highest instances of liberality which a prince could show to his friend, but that he was anxious in the decline of his life to seek retirement, and was ready to resign into the hands of his benefactor that wealth, which exposed him to the odium and misrepresentations of the envious. Nero pretended to feel the greatest repugnance to such proposals, protesting that if they were carried into

Tac. Ann. xiv  
52, &c.

NERO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.

execution, they would be ascribed rather to his own cruelty and avarice, than to the moderation of Seneca. This, probably, he felt to be the truth: he therefore embraced the philosopher, and caressed him with those marks of affection, with which he was accustomed to disguise his hostile feelings. Seneca returned thanks (which, Tacitus says, is the conclusion of all interviews with princes); but he was so sensible of the overthrow of his power, that he changed his mode of life, seldom appearing in the city, and avoiding society, under pretence of ill health, and the pursuit of his philosophical studies.

Seneca being removed from court, it was easy for Tigellinus to disparage his colleague Fenius Rufus, on account of his former friendship with Agrippina. In order to establish his own ascendancy over Nero, he penetrated into the secret suspicions of his heart, and discovered, that Cornelius Sylla and Rubellius Plautus, whom he had sent into banishment, were the principal objects of his dread. Pretending that his sole occupation was to watch over the life of the emperor, he artfully stimulated his fears against these unfortunate exiles, until the death of both of them was determined. Assassins were dispatched to Marseilles; and they murdered Sylla at table, before even a rumour had apprized him of his danger. His head was carried to Nero, who ridiculed the premature greyness of his hair, which probably his own tyranny had helped to produce. It was not so easy to surprise Plautus; (who was residing in Asia,) on account of the length of the journey, and the greater number of his friends. A freedman, assisted by a favourable wind, brought him intelligence of his impending fate, and at the same time communicated the

advice of his father-in-law L. Antistius, that he should endeavour to defend himself, and excite an insurrection against Nero. Plautus was not disposed to comply with these instructions, if they were really given; and, according to some writers, the message of his father-in-law was of quite a different purport. The centurion, who was sent to execute him, found him in the middle of the day, stripped of his clothes, and engaged in bodily exercises; and in this condition he put him to death. Nero wrote a letter to the senate, not making any avowal of the murder of Sylla and Plautus, but complaining that their dispositions were turbulent, and that he experienced great anxiety in preserving the safety of the empire. A preposterous decree was therefore passed, that they should be expelled from the senate, and that supplications should be offered to the gods.

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8, 9.  
A. D. 62.

When the head of Plautus was presented to Nero, he is said to have addressed himself in audible terms, intimating that he might now celebrate his nuptials with Poppæa, which he had hitherto deferred on account of his fears. The conduct of the senate had shown that they were ready to pay the same honour to his blackest crimes as to his most laudable actions: he, therefore, divorced Octavia, under a pretence of sterility, and in a short time married Poppæa. This woman, with whom he had long lived in habits of adultery, attempted to disgrace the reputation of her rival, by causing her to be accused of a criminal intrigue with a flute-player named Eucerus. The maid-servants of Octavia were put to the torture, and some of them were urged, by the dreadful pains which they suffered, to make false acknowledgments of her guilt; but the greater part firmly persisted in maintaining the innocence of their mistress.



NERO,  
8, 9.  
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Nero himself was sensible of her virtue ; but he suffered her to be banished into Campania, and placed under a military guard. The undisguised complaints of the people, who both respected and commiserated her, induced him in a short time to order her recall ; and as soon as the joyful event was known, they ascended the Capitol, and offered thanks to the gods ; they threw down the statues of Poppæa, and, carrying those of Octavia on their shoulders, decorated them with flowers, and placed them in the forum and in the temples. They loudly extolled the conduct of their prince, and were about to make the palace itself the scene of their exultations, when they were attacked by bands of soldiers, who quickly dispersed them, and replaced the statues of Poppæa.

Agitated by indignation and fear, Poppæa cast herself at the feet of Nero, and, exerting that powerful influence which she had gained over his mind, persuaded him that the commotion of the people was directed against his authority, and that neither he nor herself could live in security, unless instant vengeance was inflicted upon Octavia. Although he was willing to listen to this suggestion, there appeared some difficulty in finding an adequate plea for destroying Octavia, after the failure of her late accusers. That the charge against her might admit no refutation, he determined to suborn a person who would acknowledge himself guilty of adultery with her, and who was not too mean to be considered as her accomplice in some treasonable design. Anicetus, the commander of the fleet at Misenum, seemed calculated for such a plot ; although he had not experienced any high favour for his former crime of assassinating Agrippina, but had rather been viewed

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with that mistrust which confederates in wickedness generally entertain for each other. Nero, however, sent for him, and, after acknowledging the ready zeal with which he had assisted him against his mother, declared that he might now perform a service of equal magnitude against his wife; that there was no need of violence or bloodshed, as he was merely to confess that he had committed adultery with Octavia; that for this avowal he must submit to some seeming punishment, but should covertly receive the highest rewards; on the contrary, if he refused to lend his aid, he must expect to be punished with death. Anicetus, who was deterred by no scruples of virtue, and who saw no safe method of declining the proposal, promised his concurrence, and, in a company of Nero's friends, made greater confessions of his guilt with Octavia, than were even required of him. He was banished under an appearance of disgrace into Sardinia, where his wants were sufficiently supplied until the day of his death.

Nero published an edict, alleging that discoveries were made, that Octavia had corrupted Anicetus with the view of attaching the fleet to her cause, and that the fruits of their adulterous intercourse had been destroyed by abortion. In making this last charge he forgot that he had, a short time before, accused her of sterility. Truth, however, and justice were equally disregarded, and the injured Octavia was banished to the island of Pandataria. No exile ever experienced, or deserved, greater compassion from the Romans. In her earliest days she had been doomed to see her father and her brother treacherously poisoned by their nearest relatives; she had been married to a prince who had always treated her with disdain

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and cruelty, and reserved all his affection for concubines; she had witnessed Poppæa usurping from her the rights, and at last the very name, of wife; and she was now driven into banishment under infamous charges, that were more terrifying than death itself. She had suffered all these calamities when she was little more than twenty years old \*, and a violent death was to be the conclusion of them. She had not been many days in the island when she was condemned to die by the opening of her veins in all the limbs of her body; but her fright preventing the rapid flow of her blood, she was suffocated by the vapour of a hot bath. Her head was cut off, carried to Rome, and presented to the cruel Poppæa. On account of this flagitious murder, sacrifices were offered in the temples; and, as Tacitus observes, it is to be remarked, that, whenever Nero commanded the death or banishment of any of the citizens, thanks were invariably returned to the gods; so that those ceremonies, which were intended as acknowledgments of public prosperity, became tokens of public misery. In this same year, he is believed to have destroyed by poison two powerful freedmen, Doryphorus and Pallas: the former fell a victim to his revenge for having opposed his nuptials with Poppæa; the latter, who was immensely rich and far advanced in years, to his impatient eagerness to get possession of the old man's wealth.

Tac. Ann. xv.  
19—22.

An unjust practice had become prevalent at Rome, for persons who had no children to adopt sons, in order to hold offices and provinces with greater advantage, and, as soon as they had succeeded in their wishes, to discard the objects of

\* Tacitus says, she was in her twentieth year; but there is some difficulty, as Tillemont explains, in supposing her so young.

their adoption. A decree was therefore passed by the senate, that these feigned adoptions should not entitle citizens to any of the privileges of the state \*. A salutary law was proposed by Pætus Thræsea, respecting the testimonials of approbation which the Roman governors were in the habit of seeking from the inhabitants of the provinces. Claudius Timarchus, a Cretan, was accused (among other offences) of having asserted, that he had the power of determining whether thanks should be returned to the pro-consuls who had held the administration in Crete. This induced Thræsea, who was a vigilant enemy to corruption, to recommend that such tributes of thanks should be forbidden, because the magistrates, in the latter period of their office, were tempted to act with weakness and servility in order to gain them. The consuls made some technical objection to his motion, but it was soon after carried by the authority of the emperor.

NERO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.

\* By the law *Papia Poppæa*, penalties were enacted against celibacy, and citizens with a certain number of children enjoyed privileges and immunities.

## CHAPTER V.

*Vologeses wages war with the Romans.—His forces repulsed from Tigranocerta.—Truce with Corbulo.—Renewal of the war in Armenia.—Pætus invested in his camp.—Corbulo hastens to his succour.—Pætus capitulates before his arrival.—Subsequent truce between the Romans and Parthians.—Corbulo ordered to carry on the war.—Tiridates agrees to go to Rome.—Lays his diadem before Nero's statue.—Earthquake at Pompeii.—Poppæa bears a daughter, which shortly dies.—Nero appears on the stage at Naples.—Present at a show of gladiators at Beneventum.—Puts Torquatus Silanus to death.—Discouraged from visiting the East.—Burning of Rome.—Nero deemed the cause of the conflagration.—Rebuilding of the city and the golden palace.—Persecution of the Christians.—Remarks of Tacitus and Suetonius on the Christians.—Depredations and sacrilege of Nero.—Nero's cruelty to Seneca, and alarm, at the appearance of a comet.*

NERO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.

Tac. Ann. xv.  
1—18.  
Dion. lxi.

VOLOGESES the Parthian monarch, when he heard that his brother Tiridates was expelled from the kingdom of Armenia, and Tigranes established in his place, was stimulated to revenge the insult offered to the dignity of the Arsacidæ. His resentment was still further provoked by the aggression of Tigranes, who invaded the neighbouring territory of Adiabene, and committed extensive ravages there, against which the king Monobazus

and his nobles appealed to the protection of the Parthians. These injuries overcame the dilatory disposition of Vologeses, and his dread of the Roman power; so that he commanded one of his generals, Moneses, instantly to invade Armenia, while he himself collected a sufficient number of forces to threaten the Roman provinces. Corbulo, being informed of his intentions, sent two legions from Syria for the succour of Tigranes, with secret injunctions that they should not act with precipitation. He wrote to the emperor, advising that a commander should be sent for the express purpose of defending Armenia, because his own province of Syria was in imminent danger of being attacked by Vologeses. In the mean time he arranged his legions along the banks of the Euphrates, armed a body of provincial forces, and made careful preparations for opposing any invasion of the Parthians.

NEBO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.

Moneses, though he marched with rapidity, did not surprise Tigranes, but found him in safe occupation of the city of Tigranocerta, which was strongly fortified and well supplied with troops and provisions. When he attempted to storm it, his attack was easily repulsed, and his men were slaughtered in a sally by the Romans. Corbulo, upon hearing of this defeat of the Parthian general, sent ambassadors to Vologeses to expostulate with him for waging war against an ally of the Romans, and against the Roman troops themselves, and to threaten him, if he did not desist, with an invasion of his own country. The centurion who was entrusted with the embassy found the king at Nisibis, which was distant about thirty-seven miles from Tigranocerta, and he delivered his message in a fierce and haughty manner.

NERO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.

Vologeses had a fixed reluctance to encounter the Roman arms; and when he reflected upon his unsuccessful commencement of the war, and found himself without forage for his horses, as a swarm of locusts had consumed all the herbage, he deemed it most prudent to accede to a truce with Corbulo. Having promised that he would send ambassadors to Rome to adjust the affairs of Armenia, and to ratify a peace, he commanded Moneses to raise the siege of Tigranocerta, and he himself began his retreat. The Roman troops were withdrawn from Tigranocerta, and retired into Cappadocia. Historians do not relate what became of Tigranes; although it is probable that, after the departure of his allies, he was unable to maintain his authority over the Armenians. But it is difficult to conjecture why Corbulo recalled his forces from Tigranocerta, unless we believe the complaints which were made against him, that he had entered into a secret compact with Vologeses, or that he was desirous of aggravating the difficulty of the war for the commander on whom it should devolve.

This commander was Cæsennius Pætus, who began to disparage Corbulo's late achievements, and to boast how greatly his own would surpass them. A trial was not denied him; for the ambassadors of Vologeses returned from Rome without success, and the war was renewed by the Parthians. Pætus, therefore, entered Armenia with two legions, and hurried them over Mount Taurus, for the purpose (as he pretended) of recovering Tigranocerta. He took a few castles, and captured some booty; but after long and useless marches he led back his army at the approach of winter, and wrote a pompous letter to Nero, as if the war had been finished. In the mean time, Corbulo had strongly fortified the

banks of the Euphrates, thrown a bridge over the river, and presented so formidable an array to the Parthians, that they abandoned their project of invading Syria, and marched into Armenia against Pætus. This improvident general had allowed one of the legions under his command to remain in Pontus, and had greatly weakened the two which he had with him, by indiscriminately granting the soldiers leave of absence. The force, however, which he mustered would have been sufficient to resist the Parthians, if he had not been both unskilful and obstinate. Although he was incompetent to form any plan of defence for himself, he refused to listen to the suggestions of abler officers; nor did he adhere to any consistent mode of action, but was continually varying his precipitate schemes. His men, being devoid both of unanimity and courage, were instantly routed by Vologeses, and those who had not strength or opportunity to fly, were shut up and besieged in their camp. The boastful Pætus, who had before written with great reluctance to inform Corbulo of the approach of the Parthians, now sent the most urgent entreaties that he would hasten to deliver the remains of his unfortunate army.

Corbulo, leaving part of his forces in Syria, conducted the remainder through Commagène and Cappadocia, and, in addition to the usual apparatus of war, was accompanied by a multitude of camels laden with corn. He continued his march day and night in order to reach Armenia, and, whenever he met any of the fugitives of the other army, commanded them to return to their standards. Pætus, being as much destitute of courage as of skill, soon yielded to a disgraceful capitulation with the Parthians, consenting to withdraw all his men from

NERO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.



NERO,  
8, 9.  
A. D. 62.

Suet. vi. 39.

Armenia, and to surrender all the castles and provisions. On these conditions his legions were liberated from siege, and Vologeses was allowed to send an embassy to Nero. The Romans, according to Suetonius, were constrained to pass under the yoke: their departure from their camp was certainly attended with every circumstance of degradation and insult, and their vaunting leader retreated with so much rapidity, that his wounded were left behind. When he met the army from Syria on the banks of the Euphrates, his men were received by their more fortunate comrades with a generous sympathy, and even with tears. Corbulo briefly complained that the Parthians might have been put to flight and the war finished: on which Pætus declared that all was safe, that they might unite their forces, and re-enter Armenia. But Corbulo considered it necessary to return to Syria for the protection of that province. Messengers afterwards came from Vologeses, requiring that Corbulo should destroy his forts on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and make that river, as before, the boundary of the two empires. The Roman general, on his part, required that the Parthian garrisons should be withdrawn from Armenia. These terms were mutually acceded to; and the contested territory was once more free from invaders.

At Rome, trophies and triumphal arches were erected, as if victories had been gained over the Parthians.

NERO,  
9, 10.  
A. D. 63.

Tac. Ann. xv.  
24—31.

In the beginning of Spring, the ambassadors of Vologeses arrived, and stated that, notwithstanding the success of their king in Armenia, he would act with forbearance and moderation; that Tiridates would have submitted to receive the diadem at Rome, if he had not been prevented by his sacer-

dotal office; but that he was willing to pay reverence to the Roman standards and the effigy of the Prince, and to assume his kingly functions in the presence of the legions. These intimations were so much at variance with the accounts which Pætus transmitted to Rome, that a centurion who came with the ambassadors was questioned concerning the state of affairs in Armenia, and he divulged the truth, that all the Romans had quitted that country. Nero, therefore, deliberated with his counsellors, and as they recommended a continuance of the war, the ambassadors were dismissed; presents, however, were given them, from which they might hope that the request of Tiridates, if proffered by himself, would not be rejected. The management of the war was confided to Corbulo with almost unbounded authority; for the kings and tetrarchs, and all the governors of the adjoining provinces, were to obey his orders. The foolish Pætus was recalled, and, on his return to Rome, received no further punishment than this satirical remark from Nero: "I forgive you instantly, because, if I kept you long in suspense, you would be ill from fear."

NERO,  
9, 10.  
A. D. 63.

Corbulo, having assembled a considerable army, again marched into Armenia. He was met by ambassadors from Tiridates and Vologeses, who came to treat of peace; and he endeavoured, by secret representations, to convince them of the impolicy of ruining the kingdom of Armenia by the miseries of war, and of engaging the Parthian empire in a contest with the Romans, who were at peace with all other nations. To add the weight of terror to his arguments, he punished those Armenians who had been the first to revolt from the Romans, by driving them from their habitations, and destroying all

NERO,  
9, 10.  
A. D. 63.

their castles. Tiridates, influenced by the appeals which were made to him, desired a conference with the Roman general, and the place selected for it was the spot where the legions of Pætus had been lately besieged. On the day appointed for the interview, the king first alighted from his horse, Corbulo immediately followed his example, and they joined their hands in token of fidelity. Tiridates, after expatiating on the lustre of his race, agreed to go to Rome, and to present to Cæsar the spectacle of one of the Arsacidæ coming as his suppliant, though not in adversity; in the mean time, he consented to deposit his diadem before the image of Nero, and not to resume it except from his hand. This ceremony took place a few days after, amidst a splendid array of the Roman and Parthian troops. A curule seat, supporting the image of Nero, was placed on an elevation; and Tiridates, after sacrifices had been offered, approached it, and, taking the diadem from his head, laid it before the emperor's effigy. Thus, in the country where the Romans had lately suffered the basest indignities, the brother of the Parthian conqueror paid homage to a statue of their prince, and consented to go to his capital with all the humility of a suppliant. Vologeses earnestly requested of Corbulo, that Tiridates should be treated on his journey with the distinction becoming his rank; but he ought to have remembered that his brother's honour would have been best guarded by firmness and valour.

Tac. Ann. xv.  
22.  
Senec. Nat.  
Qu. vi. 1.

On the fifth of February in this year (or, according to Tacitus, in the preceding), a great part of the town of Pompeii was overthrown by an earthquake. The shock extended to the surrounding places of Campania, and destroyed part of

Herculaneum. It killed a flock of six hundred sheep, cleft asunder the statues, and deprived some persons of their intellects. Pompeii, a few years afterwards, was destined to undergo a still more dreadful calamity.

NERO,  
9, 10.  
A. D. 63.

Nero was filled with immoderate joy on learning that Poppæa had borne him a daughter. The child was born at Antium, which was his own birth-place, and received, as well as her mother, the title of Augusta. The senate testified their adulation by making public vows, and decreeing the celebration of games, and also by recommending the womb of Poppæa to the gods, and ordering a temple to be erected to *Fecundity*! The child, however, expired in the fourth month of her age, and the senate voted her divine honours, with a temple and priest. Nero was as extravagant in his grief as he had been in his joy.

Tac. Ann. xv.  
23.

The nations of the maritime Alps were admitted this year to the same rights as the inhabitants of Latium. Seats in front of the people were granted to the Roman knights in the circus; the Roscian law had already given them that privilege in the theatre. Splendid shows of gladiators were exhibited, and many senators, and even illustrious women, disgraced themselves by appearing in the arena.

Tac. Ann. xv.  
32.

Nero was every day inflamed with a stronger desire of singing on the public stage, for hitherto his performances had been confined to private houses and gardens, which he considered far too limited a sphere for his extraordinary voice. He did not, however, venture to begin at Rome, but selected Naples for the exhibition of his musical powers, intending to pass from thence into Greece, and, by gaining the most ancient and celebrated

NERO,  
10, 11.  
A. D. 64.

Tac. Ann. xv.  
33—35.

Suet. vi. 20.

NERO,  
10, 11.  
A. D. 64.



prizes, to stimulate the curiosity and applause of the Romans. The theatre, in which he sang at Naples, had not been long emptied of its audience, when it was thrown down by an earthquake; but, instead of being alarmed by the accident, he considered it as an instance of the providential favour of the gods, and celebrated it by some hymns composed for the occasion. On his way to the Adriatic, he stopped at Beneventum, where an exhibition of gladiators was given by Vatinius, who was originally a shoemaker of that town, but by his scurrilous wit and malevolent detractions had elevated himself into favour with the emperor \*. In the midst of his pleasures Nero did not desist from cruelty, but prepared a frivolous accusation against Torquatus Silanus, who had excited his jealousy by the liberality of his expenditure, and by his descent from Augustus. Torquatus, perceiving that his condemnation was fixed, opened the veins of his arms, and expired; upon which Nero, with insulting hypocrisy, declared that, although he was manifestly guilty, he would have been spared if he had waited for the clemency of his judge.

Suet. vi. 19.  
Tac. Ann. xv.  
36, 37.

For some unknown reason Nero deferred his journey into Greece, and returned to Rome, where he publicly announced his intention of visiting Egypt and the provinces of the east. But before his departure, he was suddenly seized, in the temple of Vesta, with a tremor over his whole body and a dizziness in his head, which so alarmed him that he remained at Rome, assuring the citizens

\* From the cobbler of Beneventum, who was as deformed in his body as he was malicious in his mind, certain cups were called *Vatinius*, which are alluded to in Juvenal (Sat. v. 46), and in one of Martial's epigrams (xiv. 96). See the note of Lipsius, Tac. Ann. xv. 34.

that the sorrow, which they expressed at the fear of his absence, had induced him to change his resolution. The people, on account of the amusements with which he gratified them, were really pleased at his stay. The senators, after doubting whether he was more to be dreaded at a distance, or near them, came to the conclusion, which commonly results from all disagreeable alternatives, that the event which had befallen them was the more grievous. He regaled the people with feasts in all the public places of the city; and an entertainment, which was given under the superintendence of Tigellinus, was remarkable for unbounded extravagance and licentiousness. A large raft, on which tables were spread, was towed about the lake of Agrippa by vessels ornamented with gold and ivory: men and women, even those of the highest rank, abandoned themselves to the most dissolute pleasures; and Nero, that no vice nor folly might be omitted by him, acted the part of a bride to a man named Pythagoras, put on the nuptial veil, and went through all the ceremonies of marriage.

NERO,  
10, 11.  
A. D. 64.

After this, Rome was the scene of one of the most terrible calamities that ever afflicted the imperial city. A fire broke out in that part of the circus which was contiguous to the Palatine and Cælian hills; and as there were many shops there, filled with combustible materials, and the wind was high, it immediately spread with violent rapidity. It raged from valley to hill, and from hill to valley, meeting with little obstruction to its course in a city which had been hastily rebuilt, after its capture by the Gauls, with close, irregular, and winding streets. The consternation of the citizens, who beheld their houses suddenly enveloped in flames, their hurried anxiety to save

Tac. Ann. xy.  
38, &c.  
Suet. vi. 38.  
Dion. xii.

NERO,  
10, 11.  
A. D. 64.

the lives of themselves and relatives, or to snatch their property from destruction, the lamentations of women and children, and the piteous cries of the sick and feeble, filled every place with indescribable tumult and confusion. If any one attempted to extinguish the flames he was threatened and intimidated by a body of incendiaries, some of whom openly set fire to buildings, declaring that they had authority for what they did: which was either true, or advanced for the purpose of aiding their schemes of licence and rapine. It was not until the sixth day that the fire was arrested at the foot of the Esquiline hill, by throwing down edifices for a considerable distance, and forming a barrier to its progress. The people had not recovered from their fears when it broke out again, and raged, apparently, for three days more \*, during which the porticoes and temples of the gods were the places principally consumed.

Of the fourteen districts into which ancient Rome was divided, three were entirely destroyed, four remained uninjured, and in the other seven the fire had committed such ravages, as to leave little but the ruins of habitations. The most ancient structures, such as the great altar and fane which Evander had built to Hercules, the temple of Jupiter Stator vowed by Romulus, the temple of Luna built by Servius Tullius, the palace of Numa, and the temple of Vesta, together with the Penates of the Roman people, were all burnt. Most of the religious edifices, which were vowed and dedicated in the time of the Gallic and Punic wars, shared

\* Tacitus says, the fire was subdued on the sixth day, but soon broke out again. Suetonius relates, that it lasted six days and seven nights; but there is an ancient inscription, which is given by Casaubon in his note on Suet. vi. 38, denoting that it continued for nine days. *Quando urbs per novem dies arsit, Neronianis temporibus.*

the same fate; also immense stores of wealth, innumerable statues and paintings by Greek artists, and the literary productions of poets, orators, and historians. It was remarked as a singular coincidence, that the city was set on fire the same day of the year\*, as it had been formerly by the Gauls under Brennus. Nero, as ruthless as a whole army of barbarians, is considered to have been the author of this second conflagration; for Suetonius and Dion unequivocally impute it to him, and Tacitus briefly observes, that it was uncertain whether it arose from accident, or the malice of the prince. He was at Antium when it commenced, and did not return to Rome until it approached his palace; but this and all the adjoining buildings were consumed by its violence. The wretched people, suddenly deprived of their homes, were obliged to seek refuge in the Campus Martius, and in the tombs and public edifices of the city. Nero, affecting commiseration for their sufferings, or dreading the fury of their resentment, opened his gardens, and caused buildings to be quickly raised for their reception, and at the same time lowered the price of corn, and ordered furniture to be brought from Ostia and the neighbouring towns. But all this appearance of humanity procured him no thanks, as it was fully believed that during the calamity he had ascended a high tower, and, struck with the beauty of the conflagration (as he termed it), sung a poem upon the destruction of Troy, arrayed in his theatrical dress. It was remembered also, that when the fire broke out a second time, it began near the house of his minister Tigellinus. From these and other circumstances the people were

NERO,  
10, 11.  
A. D. 64.

\* The 18th of July. See Lipsius on Tac. Ann. xvi. Exc. A.—ED.



NERO,  
10, 11.  
A. D. 64.

persuaded, that the burning of their capital was not an accidental event, but had been deliberately committed by the orders of their emperor.

In rebuilding the city, due regard was paid to both beauty and convenience. The direction of the streets was marked out, the roads were widened, the houses were not to exceed a certain height, and were to be ornamented with porches. These porches Nero promised to erect at his own expense, and also to clear the ground before the buildings were commenced. Rewards, proportionate to the rank and fortune of each, were given to all the citizens who rebuilt their houses within a specified time. The useless rubbish was to be conveyed to the marshes of Ostia, in the vessels which brought corn up the Tiber from that port. To protect the city from the recurrence of such a calamity as had just destroyed it, he ordered that instead of timber, Gabinian and Alban stone, which was impervious to fire, should be used in certain parts of the buildings, that every house should be protected by separate walls, that each person should be furnished with some helps for extinguishing sudden fires, and that inspectors should be appointed for distributing a more general supply of water. The city, as it arose from its ruins, presented in some respects a more beautiful aspect than before; but the elder citizens could not forbear complaining, that there were many antiquities and monuments of genius which could never be replaced. Some also were of opinion, that the ancient construction of the city was more conducive to health, because the narrow streets and lofty houses excluded the rays of the sun, which were now allowed to spend their fury upon the heads of the citizens.

Nero is said to have had the intention of ex-

tending the walls of Rome as far as Ostia, and of conveying the sea water into the old city by a canal. It was in conformity with these imperial notions of magnitude that he rebuilt his palace, which he distinguished with the epithet of *Golden*. The vestibule was so large, that it contained a colossal statue of himself a hundred and twenty feet high; and there was a triple portico extending the length of a mile. The grounds were diversified with meadows, cornfields, vineyards, and forests, and contained a great variety of wild and tame animals; there were also prodigious lakes, surrounded with buildings in form of a city. All the interior parts of the palace were richly ornamented with gold, precious stones, and mother-of-pearl. The principal banqueting-room was circular, and was continually revolving in imitation of the celestial bodies; and in this and other apartments, there were contrivances for scattering flowers and sprinkling perfumes on the heads of the guests. The baths were supplied with sea water as well as fresh. Nero was so far satisfied with his new palace, as to observe, that he had at length got a habitation fit for a man! Among other vast undertakings, on which he expended his treasures, he attempted to dig a canal, wide enough for large gallies to pass each other, from the Lake Avernus to Ostia, which was a distance of a hundred and sixty miles; but he was obliged to relinquish the work.

As it was customary for the Romans to offer expiations to the gods after any great calamity, the Sibylline books were consulted in consequence of the burning of the city, and religious rites were performed to Vulcan, Ceres, and Proserpine; and by the matrons chiefly to Juno. But, whatever efforts Nero made to repair the actual losses of the

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Suet. vi. 31.  
Tac. Ann. xv.  
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Tac. Ann. xv.  
44.  
Suet. vi. 16.

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citizens, or to appease the supposed anger of the gods, the people continued to believe that the conflagration had resulted from his orders. Wishing to allay their suspicions, and to remove the odium universally attaching to him, he endeavoured to fix the crime upon the Christians, who at that time were residing in considerable numbers at Rome, but whose tenets and manners were exceedingly unpopular. Those, who fearlessly confessed the religion which they had espoused, were first apprehended by his orders, and, in consequence of the information which they gave, numbers of others were seized, and all subjected to the most horrible punishments. Nero's cruelty was not satisfied with merely putting them to death; some were clothed in the skins of wild beasts and torn to pieces by dogs; some were nailed to crosses; and others, after being enveloped in inflammable materials, were set on fire at sunset, and burned for the purpose of illuminating the darkness of night. The emperor's own gardens were the scene of these barbarities, and were offered by him for that iniquitous purpose; he also exhibited circensian games, driving his horses, and mingling in the crowd in the dress of a charioteer. The people, however, commiserated the sufferings of the Christians, not because they had any regard for their religion, but because they saw them unjustly tormented for the sake of exculpating Nero from an atrocious charge.

This is the first persecution which the Christian church experienced from the Roman emperors, and it is important to notice the manner in which it is described by the ancient authors, Tacitus and Suetonius. The former of these historians gives exactly the same account of the origin of our religion, as we ourselves admit upon the testimony of more authentic writers. He says, that the

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Christians derived their<sup>\*</sup> appellation from Christ, who was put to death, in the reign of Tiberius, by the procurator Pontius Pilate; that their religion, after being suppressed for a time, broke out afresh, and was not only disseminated through Judæa, but penetrated as far as the Roman capital. This is incontrovertible evidence, furnished by a hostile writer, both of the antiquity of our religion, and of the rapid manner in which it was propagated after the death of Christ. But while he supplies us with this important testimony, both he and Suetonius give most unfavourable representations of the early Christians. The latter historian calls them “men addicted to a new and mischievous superstition.” But his terms of reproach are light compared with those of Tacitus, who describes them as guilty of hating the human species, odious for their crimes, and deserving the utmost severity of punishment. In drawing such a character of the Christians, the two historians obviously took little trouble to write with impartiality and truth. The subject was so uncongenial to their habits and prejudices, that they would scarcely impose upon themselves the labour of any extraordinary investigations, but would readily admit the popular rumours concerning a sect which they despised. Men in the present day must be allowed to be much more accurate judges of the principles of Christianity, than the two heathen historians; and unless the early Christians of Rome, at a time they were sacrificing all their prejudices and interests for the sake of religion, lived in direct and open variance with their professed principles, it is impossible to believe the charges alleged against them. That they were objects of suspicion and dislike to the people, in whose cities they resided, is exceedingly credible, because they were obliged to

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evinced a marked repugnance to the manners and sentiments of the heathens, to avoid their idolatrous altars, and to absent themselves from their cruel and licentious amusements. The unpopularity of the Christians, of which we have sufficient testimony; is a proof that they adhered to some principles different from those which guided the rest of the world; it also shows, that their religion did not offer any allurements to the passions of the crowd, but gained its converts by the irresistible efficacy of truth.

Tac. Ann. xv.  
45—47.  
Suot. vi. 36.

Nero, having exhausted his treasures by building and other acts of profusion, levied ruinous contributions upon the inhabitants of Italy and the provinces; nor were the allied people, and the cities called free, protected from his rapacity. He did not scruple to plunder the temples of Rome, and to strip them of the gold which had been accumulating there for ages; he also sent persons into Greece and Asia to carry away not only the sacred offerings, but even the statues of the gods themselves. It was reported that Seneca, lest he should appear to be implicated in the guilt of this sacrilege, requested permission to retire into the country, and when it was refused, he pretended illness and confined himself to his chamber. Some persons affirmed, according to Tacitus, that Nero attempted to poison him; but either the plot was disclosed by the freedman who was to execute it, or Seneca frustrated it by living upon fruits and water.

Among other prodigies supposed to portend evil, a comet appeared, which filled Nero with so much anxiety, that he consulted an astrologer upon the subject, and was advised by him to put to death the most illustrious citizens, and by this kind of expiation to avert the danger from himself.

## CHAPTER VI.

*A dangerous conspiracy is formed against Nero by Piso, Fenius Rufus, and others.—Epicharis reveals it to Proculus, and is betrayed by him.—The conspirators resolve to execute their plan at the Circensian Games.—Are discovered by the imprudence of Scevinus.—Epicharis, being put to the torture, refuses to confess, and at last strangles herself.—Duplicity of Fenius Rufus.—Death of Piso and Lateranus.—Rufus is discovered.—Sub. Flavius and Sulp. Asper boldly reproach Nero for his wickedness.—Vestinus; though not involved in the plot, is put to death by Nero.—Death and character of Lucan the poet.—Seneca the philosopher commanded to die.—Consoles his friends.—He and his wife Paullina open their veins at the same time.—The life of Paullina saved by the orders of Nero.—Seneca expires after great torture.—Supposed to have been destined for the imperial dignity by some of the conspirators.—The attacks made by Dion upon his moral character.—His merit as a writer.—The feigned joy of the people of Rome, upon the disclosure of the conspiracy.—Idolrous worship offered to Nero.*

THE execrable cruelties and follies of Nero, at length, incited many of the Romans to form a powerful conspiracy against his life. The ostensible head of the plot was C. Calpurnius Piso, who was connected by descent with several of the most illustrious families of Rome, and had acquired a

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Tac. Ann. xv.  
48, &c.

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high degree of popularity by his attractive qualities. Eloquence in defending the accused, liberality to friends, and courtesy to strangers, were recommended by the external advantages of a graceful mien, and a commanding stature. He was by no means rigid in morals, but indulged in luxury and pleasure; this, however, did not disparage him in the eyes of the multitude, who were too corrupt themselves to desire much austerity in the person whom they purposed to raise to the imperial power. Although he was considered the chief of the conspiracy, yet the plot did not originate with him, nor is it certain who it was that first proposed it; but as soon as it was known, it was eagerly abetted by many of the military, the knights, and the senators, and even by women who were inflamed with a hatred of Nero. Subrius Flavius, a tribune of a prætorian cohort, and Sulpicius Asper, a centurion, were the most prompt and zealous in the cause. Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, espoused it from pure and patriotic motives; but Afranius Quinctianus, a senator, was instigated to revenge the insults which he had received from Nero; and M. Annæus Lucanus, the poet, and the author of the *Pharsalia*, was provoked by the petty jealousy with which the emperor had depreciated his fame, and suppressed his verses. Besides these, a senator named Flavius Scevinus, Tullius Senecio, who enjoyed great intimacy with Nero, and Antonius Natalis, who possessed the confidence of Piso, were eminent persons in the conspiracy. But the partisan who appeared of the greatest weight was Fenius Rufus, one of the prætorian præfects, who was unable to resist the calumnies of his colleague Tigellinus, or to contend with him in the base and cruel arts by which he forestalled the favour of the prince. When the

conspirators were assured that he had joined their party, they began with greater confidence to deliberate upon the manner of executing their project.

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Subrius Flavius proposed that Nero should be attacked while he was singing upon the stage; or else in his house at night. Neither of these suggestions was adopted; and while the conspirators wavered in the choice of their plans, a certain freedwoman, named Epicharis, became acquainted with their design, and though she had never before exhibited any instances of resolution and virtue, she advocated it with greater warmth than all the rest. She endeavoured to animate their zeal by her reproofs, and, as she was living in Campania, she resolved to solicit some of the commanders of the fleet at Misenum to favour the plot. With this view she explored the sentiments of Volusius Proculus, who had been engaged in the murder of Agrippina; and as she found that he was dissatisfied with the rewards which he had received for so great a crime, she hinted to him that he might easily repair the injustice which had been done to him, and disclosed the existence of the conspiracy. Instead of acceding to it with the alacrity which she had expected, he betrayed her to Nero; but as she had concealed the names of the conspirators, and no witnesses could be produced against her, she easily repelled the accusation. Nero, however, judged that the charge, though not corroborated, might be true, and therefore ordered her to be detained in custody.

The conspirators, beginning to fear detection, wished to murder Nero without delay in the villa of Piso at Baiæ, where he was a frequent guest, and where he used to disencumber himself of his guards. But Piso resisted this proposal, declaring



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that they would make their cause odious, if they violated the sacred rites of the table, and polluted the gods of Hospitality, by the blood even of the most flagitious prince. He is said to have been secretly afraid, that such a plan might deprive him of the imperial dignity, and be the means of conferring it upon some other competitor. At last it was resolved, that the assassination should take place on the festival of Ceres\*, when the celebration of the circensian games would afford opportunities of free access to the emperor. Lateranus, who was remarkable for his strength as well as his courage, was to fall at his knees, on pretence of offering a petition, and to throw him on the ground; and in this position he was to be despatched by the rest of the conspirators. Scevinus requested the privilege of striking the first blow, and for this object he selected a dagger from one of the temples, and wore it about him as an instrument devoted to some important work.

The plot, though communicated to persons of various denominations, was carefully concealed by them all, until nearly the last moment, when the imprudence of Scevinus was the cause of its disclosure. In the former part of his life he had so abandoned himself to luxury and indolence, that he was little expected to engage in any hazardous enterprise; and though he was faithful and zealous in the conspiracy against Nero, he proved at last that he had not the caution and composure necessary for such an undertaking. On the day before the games, after holding a long conference with Natalis, he went home and sealed his will; and

\* The *Cerealia*, or festival of Ceres, took place in April; but on what day scholars are not agreed. Ernesti and Brotier assign its celebration to the 19th; Lipsius to the 12th; Smith (*Dict of Ant.*), to the 7th or 13th day of the month.—ED.

complaining that his favourite dagger was blunted, he commanded his freedman Milichus to sharpen it. At the same time, preparations were made for a more sumptuous dinner than usual; he presented some of his slaves with money, and some with their freedom, ordered bandages and other things necessary for wounds to be got ready, and appeared to be absorbed in deep and anxious thought, although he affected to be joyous. Milichus, observing this extraordinary behaviour, began to suspect the cause of it; and when he consulted with his wife, she stimulated both his fears and his avarice, by showing that it was useless to conceal those facts of which so many slaves and freedmen had been witnesses, and by urging him to hasten to gain the rewards which would be given to the first informer.

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As soon, therefore, as it was day-break, Milichus appeared before the imperial residence, and, having gained admission to Nero by declaring himself the messenger of some important intelligence, communicated all that he had seen, and all that he suspected. Scevinus was hurried from his home by a military guard, and made a plausible defence of himself, explaining all the circumstances alleged against him as no more than ordinary occurrences, except the preparation of the ligaments, which, he said, Milichus had undertaken at his own suggestion, and for the purpose of strengthening his malicious accusation. He reviled the perfidy of his freedman, and conducted himself with so much firmness, that the charge was beginning to appear unfounded, when the wife of Milichus stated, that Scevinus had lately held many secret conversations with Natalis, and that they both were intimate friends of Piso. Natalis was consequently summoned; and when the answers

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elicited from him and from Scevinus, respecting the subject of their conferences, did not agree, they were put in chains and threatened with torture. Natalis, being terrified into an acknowledgment of the conspiracy, first divulged the name of Piso, and then of Seneca. The confession of Scevinus was soon afterwards extorted, and it implicated Senecio, Quinctianus, Eucan, and other accomplices.

Nero, remembering the information which he had lately received against Epicharis, and imagining that the fortitude of a woman would be easily overcome, commanded her to be put to the torture. But neither blows, nor fire, nor all the fury of her tormentors, who were enraged at her constancy, could force her to make any confession. One day having been wasted in these fruitless endeavours, she was to undergo on the following a repetition of her barbarous trial, and, as her dislocated limbs were unable to support her, she was carried in a chair. But before the cruelties recommenced, she contrived to make a noose of part of her dress; and having fastened it to the back of her seat, she placed her neck in it, and, leaning forward with the whole weight of her body, strangled herself, and effectually set her persecutors at defiance. This firm devotedness, which a woman displayed for the sake of protecting persons who were almost unknown to her, formed a remarkable contrast with the pusillanimity of some of the male conspirators, who, without being compelled by torture, betrayed those who should have been most dear to them. A promise of impunity induced Lucan to accuse his mother; and Quinctianus and Senecio to accuse their principal friends; nor did they scruple afterwards to make a general avowal of the names of the conspirators.

Nero, who was in great alarm for his life, filled the city with troops, and closely surrounded himself with guards. Multitudes of accused persons were brought before him, and were considered criminal, if they had shown cordiality towards any of the conspirators, or had accidentally met or accosted them. Besides the severity of Nero and Tigellinus, they had to experience that of Fenius Rufus, who, though guilty himself, had not yet been impeached by the accusers, and who hoped to prove his ignorance of the plot by ferocity towards his accomplices. The conspirators might have still succeeded in their design, if he had been as firm and resolute as Subrius Flavius, who, as he stood by him during the examination, offered to attack Nero; but Rufus checked him as he was going to raise his hand to the hilt of his sword.

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As soon as the treachery of Milichus was known, many of the friends of Piso advised him not to wait the result of the investigation, which would certainly end in his destruction, but to encourage the soldiers and the people to rise against Nero. He did not, however, listen to their arguments, but retired to his house, and there awaited his fate, which was soon announced by the arrival of a military force. He died by opening the veins of his arms; and in his will he condescended to appease Nero by base adulation, for the sake of his wife Arria Galla, to whom he was warmly attached, but who had no claim upon his admiration beyond her beauty. The death of Lateranus followed so quickly, that he had not time to embrace and take leave of his children. Being hurried to a place where slaves were executed, he was beheaded by a tribune, who was himself privy

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to the plot; but Lateranus, who was a man of great magnanimity, preserved an honourable silence, and abstained from all reproaches.

The soldiers, however, who were in the conspiracy, did not long escape detection, nor was the duplicity of Fenius Rufus unpunished. For as he was threatening and importuning some of the accused, Scevinus turned to him with a sarcastic smile, saying, "There is no one better acquainted with the affair than yourself." Rufus began to stammer, and betrayed his guilt by his terror and confusion; fresh accusers appeared against him, and he was seized and bound in the presence of Nero. He met his death with very little fortitude, and gave utterance to fruitless lamentations, even in his will. Subrius Flavius, the tribune, behaved with much greater resolution; for, although at first he attempted to evade the charge, yet he soon laid aside all dissimulation, and when Nero asked him why he had violated his military oath of allegiance, he boldly replied, "Because I detested you. No soldier could have been more faithful to you, as long as you deserved fidelity; but I viewed you with abhorrence, when I saw you become the murderer of your mother and wife, a driver of chariots, an actor, and an incendiary!" When he was going to be beheaded, the tribune commanded him to stretch out his neck boldly; to which he replied, "I wish you may strike as boldly." Nor was the reproof unjust, for the man scarcely separated his head at two blows; but he boasted of his cruel awkwardness before Nero by saying, that he had despatched him with a blow and a half. Sulpicius Asper and some other centurions died with a courage not unworthy of Roman soldiers; and when Asper was asked by Nero, why he had

conspired against him, he replied, "I knew no other way of rescuing you from your flagitious course of life."

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Nero had hoped that Atticus Vestinus, who was then consul, would have been implicated in the plot; for he knew the impetuosity of his disposition, and had cherished a secret hostility against him. A close intimacy had once subsisted between them; but Vestinus had offended him by some sharp raillery, which had too much truth in it to be easily forgiven by a prince, and had also presumed to marry Statilia Messalina, although he knew that Nero was one of her paramours. He had not, however, been admitted into the confidence of the conspirators, and therefore could not be condemned with the formalities of justice; but Nero, in the exercise of arbitrary power, sent a tribune with a cohort of soldiers to attack him in his house. Vestinus had discharged that day all the duties of consul, and was dining with his friends, when a band of soldiers, entering the room, commanded him to appear before the tribune. He rose without hesitation, and was conducted by them to a bed-chamber, where a surgeon was ready to open his veins. Before his strength failed, he was thrust into a bath, and immersed in hot water, forbearing all the time to utter any lamentation or complaint. His unfortunate guests were placed under guard, and not set at liberty until late at night; while Nero ridiculed their terror, and observed, that they had paid dearly enough for dining with the consul!

In the death of Senecio, Quinctianus, Scevinus, and other conspirators, nothing memorable occurred. When the veins of Lucan the poet were opened, and he perceived that his extremities were

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growing cold, while his heart was warm, and his faculties unshaken, he remembered the description\*, which he had given in one of his poems, of a soldier dying under similar circumstances. He began to recite the verses, and they were the last words which he uttered. As a man, he has disgraced his memory by the charge which he made against his mother, especially as that charge is supposed to have been false; it is certain, that she was not punished for the alleged offence. As a writer, his poem called *Pharsalia* has raised him to considerable reputation; although many will subscribe to the opinion of Quintilian, that he wrote more like an orator than a poet. Great indulgence, however, ought to be shown to his literary faults, when it is remembered, that he died at the early age of twenty-six. He was born at Corduba in Spain, and was the nephew of the philosopher Seneca.

Seneca himself, whether justly or not, was implicated in this fatal conspiracy. Natalis affirmed, that on having been sent to him, during his illness, to complain that he excluded Piso from his society, he had answered, that a frequent intercourse was not conducive to the interest of either of them, but that his welfare and Piso's were inseparably united. Nero, who had long desired to accomplish the death of his preceptor, sent Silvanus the tribune of a prætorian cohort, to enquire whether he remembered the message of Natalis and his own answer. Seneca had just returned from Campania, and was at his country-house, about four miles from Rome, when he was met by the bearer of the emperor's commands. He acknowledged that Natalis had visited

\* Supposed to be in the *Pharsalia*, iii. 835, or ix. 805.

him for the purpose stated, and that he had excused the visits of Piso upon the grounds of ill health, and a love of retirement. He declared that he could not assign any reason, why he should prefer the welfare of a private person to his own, (which no doubt was the pretence on which he was accused of conspiring with Piso); but that Nero himself had received sufficient experience, that he was not addicted to flattery and servility. This free but innocent answer was reported to Nero, while he was sitting in company with Poppæa and Tigellinus, who were his secret counsellors in projects of cruelty. The emperor asked whether Seneca was preparing himself for a voluntary death; and when the tribune replied that he saw no signs of perturbation either in his words or looks, "Then return," said he, "and command him to die."

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Silvanus, who was himself in the list of the conspirators, is said to have consulted Fenius Rufus, who was not then discovered, whether he should obey this order, and was persuaded by him that he ought. He forbore, however, to announce it in his own person, but entrusted it to one of his centurions. Seneca, having heard it with composure, requested to make some additions to his will, but was not allowed; upon which he turned to his friends, and told them that though he could recompense their services in no other way, he might bequeath them at least the example of his life, the imitation of which would conduct them to a virtuous renown. He reproved their tears, and strengthened their fortitude, reminding them of the precepts of philosophy, and arguing that, after Nero had committed so many cruelties against his relatives, it was not to be expected that he would spare his guardian and tutor. In consoling his



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wife as well as his friends, he seemed to be elated with that self-sufficient pride which the Stoic doctrines inspired; for he advised her to calm the grief, which she would feel at the death of her husband, by the contemplation of the virtues which had distinguished his life. Paullina, however, (for that was her name,) declared, that it was not her intention to survive, but that she would die with him. He did not oppose her resolution, but said: "As I have shown you the consolations of life, I will not envy you the glory of death: may we both die with equal fortitude, although you will certainly die with the greater renown." After this interchange of philosophical affection, they had the veins of their arms opened at the same time.

Seneca's constitution was so weakened by old age and spare diet, that the blood flowed but slowly; and it became necessary to cut the veins of his legs. As he began to be excruciated with pain, he persuaded his wife to be removed into another chamber, that the sight of each other's sufferings might not mutually increase their agony. Nero, who had no particular animosity against Paullina, and was sensible that her death would be an aggravation of his infamy, commanded that endeavours should be made to save her life. Her arms, therefore, were bound up, and the blood stopped. It is uncertain whether she willingly permitted the attempts which were made for her recovery: the vulgar, who are always ready to detract from noble actions, asserted that she wished to die with her husband, as long as she considered that Nero was implacable against her, but that, when she found he was disposed to mercy, her love of life prevailed. But it is difficult to imagine, how an aged woman, enfeebled with the

loss of blood, was to resist the efforts of slaves and soldiers to bind up her wounds. She lived a few years longer, cherishing a laudable reverence for her husband's memory, and exhibiting in her limbs and countenance a ghastly paleness, resulting from the loss of blood.

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Seneca, preserving his intellectual powers in the midst of his sufferings, dictated several things, which were disseminated among the Romans, but have not been recorded by ancient writers. Weary of the tediousness of his dissolution, he requested his friend and physician, Statius Annæus, to give him the hemlock, which he had long ago provided against any sudden necessity of death; but although he drank it, it produced no effect upon his body, which was cold and exhausted. He was next placed in a vessel of warm water, with the view of accelerating his decease, when he sprinkled the slaves that were near him, saying, that he made a libation to Jupiter the Liberator. After so many painful delays, he was at last suffocated by the vapour of a bath. His body was burned without any funeral solemnity; and it is remarkable, that he had given directions to that effect in a will, which he had made during the height of his affluence and power. It is not improbable that he was privy to the conspiracy of Piso, although he was condemned upon the most weak and futile evidence. A report prevailed at Rome, that Subrius Flavius had resolved, in conjunction with the centurions, and not without the knowledge of Seneca, that after Nero had been slain, Piso also should be put to death, and the imperial power bestowed upon Seneca. But if this plan was really contemplated; and Seneca was aware of it, his conduct to Piso must be reprobated as artful

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and treacherous. Subrius is said to have declared, that the Romans would be equally disgraced by having a tragedian for their prince, as by having a harper; for as Nero used to play on the harp, so Piso had sung in a tragic dress.

Dion. lxi. lxii.

The moral character of Seneca has been violently attacked by the historian Dion. He accuses him of having had an adulterous intrigue with Agrippina (although a bitter hatred afterwards arose between them), and of having acted in every way opposite to the philosophical principles which he professed. While Seneca (he says) condemned tyranny, he was the teacher of a tyrant: while he inveighed against those who kept company with princes, he himself was always at court: while he reprobated flatterers, he himself flattered empresses and freed-men, and composed panegyrics upon some of them: while he disparaged riches, he was immensely rich: and while he reproved luxury, he had five hundred tables for feasting, made of cedar wood, with ivory feet, and all exactly similar. He also alleges that the revolt of the Britons was partly occasioned by his usurious cruelty; for, after he had lent them a large sum of money, he recalled the whole at one time, and in an arbitrary manner. Lipsius thinks\* that these charges are to be attributed to that perverseness of Dion, which led him to attack Cicero, Cassius, Brutus, and other great men among the Romans. The accusations against Seneca have probably been coloured and exaggerated by the Bithynian historian, but it is certain that they were not entirely invented by him; for similar censures may be inferred even from the history of Tacitus, who was obviously disposed to favour the philosopher. Seneca appears to have

\* See note of Lipsius at Tac. Ann. xlii. 42.

been a man sincerely desirous of cultivating those virtues which he recommended in his writings; but the difficult situations in which he was placed, often rendered his actions inconsistent with his avowed principles. Both he and Burrhus endeavoured to preserve Nero in that upright and dignified course which became his station; but his corrupt propensities defeated all their efforts, and the opposition which they were obliged to offer to Agrippina placed them in still more embarrassing circumstances. They, therefore, submitted to weak compliances, which were unworthy of their character, and which did not produce the expected effects of satisfying the desires of the emperor, and attaching him to their lenient authority. His passions, inflamed by indulgence, defied all admonition and restraint, and made him averse to any counsellors who were not willing to gratify him by the most unlimited concessions. Seneca, therefore, and his colleague, experienced, when it was too late, that they had yielded to their prince in vain. If they had possessed the sterner virtue of Thræsea, they would probably have resisted him at first; and though they could not have restrained his vices, they would have departed from his court, without exposing themselves to any worse recompence than that which they eventually met.

Whatever blemishes or vices are to be imputed to the conduct of Seneca, the most beautiful sentiments of morality are to be found in his writings, as it has always been a much more easy task to describe virtue than to practise it. His ethical precepts are as pure as those of any heathen writer, and may furnish useful instruction to all who peruse them, if they are careful to separate them from the Stoic errors with which they are

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entangled. His style is sparkling, and possesses beauties which are attractive to many readers; but correct judges will condemn it as too rhetorical, and as deficient in that simplicity which characterizes the earlier Roman authors. It is remarkable that the city of Corduba, in Spain, produced two of the most eminent writers in the age of Nero; for Seneca, as well as Lucan, was born there. The family of the philosopher did not settle at Rome until the reign of Augustus, nor obtain any higher rank than the equestrian; and there is no doubt that the comparative obscurity of his origin was one of the causes why he was assailed with a greater degree of malevolence and envy.

Suet. vi. 36.  
Tac. Ann. xv.  
71—74.

After the principal parties in the conspiracy of Piso had been put to death, many others were subjected to the lighter punishment of exile: a few were pardoned. The children of the condemned were banished, or killed by famine and poison: several were destroyed at one feast, together with their preceptors and slaves. But while the city was filled with funerals, the wretched inhabitants were constrained to assume an appearance of joy: for the death of their sons, brothers, relatives, and friends, they offered thanks to the gods, adorned their houses with laurel, and prostrated themselves in feigned gratitude before the knees of the emperor. He granted honours to those who had been most active in discovering the conspiracy, bestowed a largess upon the soldiers, and ordered that the guards should receive in future a gratuitous allowance of corn. The senate decreed thanksgivings and sacrifices to the gods, and especial honours to the Sun, as if that luminary had been instrumental in disclosing the secrets of the conspiracy. The month of April was to be called by the name of

Nero, and a temple was to be erected to *Salus*. The dagger of Scevinus was consecrated by Nero in the Capitol, and inscribed to *Jupiter Vindex*: a circumstance, which, after the revolt of Julius Vindex in Gaul, was considered as an omen of the emperor's destruction. One of the senators, outstripping the others in blasphemous adulation, proposed that a temple should be erected, as soon as possible, to the *divine* Nero; although it was not customary to deify the emperors until after their death. We learn from an ancient coin, that this most detestable of princes was really styled *a god* in some of the provinces; and from this fact we may infer to what a degrading state of idolatrous corruption the most civilized nations of the world were then reduced.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Bassus deludes Nero.—Nero's conduct at the Games.—Nero kills Poppæa accidentally, puts Antonia to death, and marries Statilia Messalina.—C. Longinus banished, and J. Silanus murdered.—L. Vetus, his mother-in-law, and daughter, all kill themselves at the same time.—Names of some of the months changed.—Hurricanes in Campania, and a plague at Rome.—Nero relieves the Lyonnese.—Reduces Pontus Polemoniacus and the Cottian Alps to Roman provinces.—Death of C. Petronius.—Accusation of Thræsea, Soranus, and others.—Defence of Servilia.—Death of Thræsea.—Tiridates receives the diadem from Nero's hands.—Nero visits Greece.—Performs in several games.—Attempts to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth.—Deaths of Scrib. Rufus, Scrib. Proculus, and Corbulo.—Nero scarcely prevailed on to leave Greece.—Declares the whole province free.—Enters Naples and Rome in a triumphal manner.*

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Tac. Ann. xvi.  
1—6.  
Suet. vi. 31.

THE cupidity of Nero was egregiously deceived by the vain promises of a Roman knight named Cesellius Bassus, who was mad enough to mistake his dreams for realities, or to hazard his life upon the invention of a wild imposture. He persuaded the emperor that he had discovered in his own lands in Africa a cave of immense depth, containing prodigious treasures of gold, which Dido had deposited there, when she fled from Tyre, and which might by a little labour be raised from the place of

their long concealment. Nero, without taking any pains to ascertain the truth, eagerly believed the improbable story, and dispatched some triremes, which were to bring to Rome without delay the extraordinary riches. The people were as credulous as himself; and as it happened to be the time when the contests of music and eloquence were celebrated, the orators expatiated upon the signal favour of the gods towards their prince, and the miraculous manner in which they poured their treasures upon him. In the meantime he pursued his luxury and extravagance to more than their usual length, in expectation of the wealth which was soon to replenish his finances. His messengers, having arrived in Africa, explored the spot which Bassus pointed out, and made a fruitless search in his own, and in the surrounding lands. When the delusion became manifest, he protested that his dreams had never before deceived him, and under the influence of shame and fear he put himself to a voluntary death. Some, however, reported that he was imprisoned and afterwards liberated, with the loss of all his property.

To console Nero for his disappointment, the senate offered him the prize for singing; and the crown for eloquence. Having declared that he would not gain them by undue favour, but would abide by the equity of the judges, he first recited a poem; and afterwards, when the mob requested that he would exhibit all his accomplishments, he appeared on the stage playing his harp, and strictly observed the rules which were established for musical performers. When he had finished, he bent his knee, and, paying obeisance to the audience, pretended to wait in trembling anxiety for the suffrages of the judges. The people of Rome,

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accustomed to theatrical exhibitions, knew how to applaud him in the most regular and opportune manner; but persons from the free towns and provinces were often struck by the soldiers for their awkwardness and want of zeal in commending the performances of their emperor. Many of the knights were crushed to death in the crowd, and some were attacked with fatal diseases in consequence of remaining so long in their seats. Spies were placed to watch the looks and behaviour of the spectators; and the poorer persons, who exhibited any marks of reluctance or weariness, were immediately punished, while the richer were doomed to experience the future animosity of the prince. It is related that the celebrated Vespasian was reproved by a freedman for his apparent drowsiness, and that his offence was with difficulty concealed through the intercession of his friends.

Suet. vi. 35.  
Dion. lxi.

After the games, Poppæa, who was in a state of pregnancy, died in consequence of a kick which she received from Nero, because she had petulantly reproved him, when he had returned late from chariot-driving. It is not believed that he had any malicious intention of destroying her, for he appears to have loved her as much as his savage nature would allow, and was desirous of having children. Her body was not burnt, according to the Roman custom, but was embalmed, and deposited in the tomb of the Cæsars. It appears that she received divine honours; and she was publicly panegyriized by Nero on account of her beauty and other accidental advantages. She was so studious of her personal attractions, that she declared she would rather die than grow old, and she had five hundred she-asses, in whose milk she used to bathe herself. As she had always incited Nero to acts of cruelty

and vice, it seemed but an act of retributive justice that she should perish by his barbarity. After her death he wished to marry Antonia, the daughter of Claudius, and his own sister-in-law; but she refused him, and was therefore destroyed under pretence of treason. His choice afterwards fell upon Statilia Messalina, the widow of the consul Vestinus, whom he had lately murdered, and she consented to become the imperial consort.

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C. Cassius Longinus, an eminent lawyer, was prohibited from attending the obsequies of Poppæa, which was a sufficient intimation that he had fallen under the displeasure of the emperor. He was a man of ancient property and dignified manners, and was accused by Nero of treasonable intentions; because among the images of his ancestors he preserved that of C. Cassius, who had conspired against Julius Cæsar. L. Junius Silanus, a youth eminent for his virtues as well as rank, was alleged to be one of his accomplices, and they were both sent into exile by a decree of the senate. Cassius, who was blind, was transported into Sardinia. Silanus was confined at Barium, a town of Apulia, and was submitting to his unjust fate with wise fortitude, when he was visited by a centurion; who commanded him to open his veins. He replied that his mind was prepared for death, but that he would not quietly yield to any one the glory of being his executioner. The centurion, perceiving his resolution, ordered his soldiers to attack him; and although he was unarmed, he struggled with his assailants, and fell covered with wounds, as if he had been on the field of battle.

Tac. Ann. xvi.  
7—13.  
Suet. vi. 37.

L. Vetus, his mother-in-law Sextia, and his daughter Pollutia, were hateful to Nero, for no other reason than because they seemed to reproach

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him for the death of Rubellius Plautus, who had been the son-in-law of Vetus. Pollutia had cherished an inconsolable grief since the assassination of her husband, preserving the garments stained with his blood, as sad memorials of the catastrophe, and refusing all food except what was necessary for sustaining mere life. She ventured, however, to importune Néro in behalf of her father, and when she found that he was inexorable, they prepared for death. Some persons endeavoured to persuade Vetus to nominate the emperor heir of great part of his property, in order to secure the rest to his grand-children; but he refused, after having spent his life in dignified freedom, to disgrace his last moments with such an act of servility. He bestowed upon his slaves the money which he had with him, and commanded them to carry away all the property that could be moved, except three couches, which were placed in the same chamber, to support himself, his mother-in-law, and his daughter. They opened their veins with the same weapon, and died in sight of each other, the eldest expiring first, and the youngest last. After their burial they were accused before the senate, and condemned to be publicly executed like criminals; but Nero, now that they were dead, pretended to interfere, and allowed them the favour of dying in private!

As the month of April had been called after *Nero*, so it was now determined that May should be called the month of *Claudius*, and June that of *Germanicus*. Cornelius Orfitus, a man of consular rank, who proposed this alteration, declared that the name of June had become inauspicious on account of the offences of the two Silani, who had each borne the appellation of Junius. We are

not informed what it was that rendered the name of May unlucky.

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Not only moral evils, but the most grievous physical calamities overwhelmed the inhabitants of Italy. Campania was desolated by hurricanes, which destroyed the fruits of the earth, and threw down trees and villas, carrying its fury into the neighbourhood of Rome. In the city itself a violent pestilence attacked all ages and ranks of people, sometimes with so much rapidity, that those who were sitting and bewailing their relatives were burnt on the same funeral pile with them. The destruction of the knights and senators was considered less lamentable than that of the other citizens, because their natural death appeared to rescue them from the sanguinary violence of Nero. This, probably, was the plague which, according to Suetonius, destroyed thirty thousand persons in one autumn. Suet. vi. 39.

Amidst many instances of cruelty, Nero performed an act of beneficence to the people of Lyons, by granting them a sum of money to rebuild their city, which had been totally consumed by fire in one night. This accident happened about a hundred years after the foundation of the colony. The kingdom of Pontus Polemoniacus became a Roman province by the concession of its monarch Polemon: and the Cottian Alps experienced the same change upon the death of the prince Cottius. The date of these events is not fully ascertained. Senec. Ep. xci.

In the last book which time has spared of his valuable Annals, Tacitus laments that he is under the necessity of recording the destruction of so many Romans, who perished with little variety in the circumstances of their death, and with the same NERO,  
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Tac. Ann. xvi.  
14, &c.

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passive submission to the authority of the tyrant. He observes, that it was such a visitation of the anger of the gods, as could not be related and dispatched at once, like the slaughter of armies and the capture of cities, but that it was necessary to revert often to the painful subject. P. Anteius and Ostorius Scapula were constrained to put themselves to death upon the frivolous charge of having consulted astrologers respecting their own fate, and the fate of Nero. The latter, who was the son of that Ostorius who had been commander in Britain, was distinguished for his military achievements, and had gained a civic crown for the preservation of the life of a citizen. Annæus Mella, the brother of Seneca, and the father of Lucan, was accused of being privy to the conspiracy, for which his two relatives had already perished. As his wealth had inflamed the cupidity of Nero, he had no chance of justice: and in his will he bequeathed a large sum of money to the emperor's favourite, Tigellinus, with the hope of ensuring the rest of his property to his rightful heirs.

The death of C. Petronius, as well as his life, was remarkable for some extraordinary circumstances. He was a man who had inverted the order of nature, by giving his days to sleep, and devoting his nights to business, but principally to pleasure. He had gained as much notoriety by his indolence, as others had by the most careful diligence; but, instead of being a gross voluptuary, he endeavoured to heighten his enjoyments with the charms of elegance and refinement. He had borne some of the highest offices of the state, and had discharged the duties of them with sufficient vigour; but, as soon as he was liberated from them, he returned to

his usual course of slothful indulgence. Nero, attracted by his skill in the arts of luxury, admitted him to the number of his few familiar friends, and relied upon his exquisite judgment in all affairs of elegance and taste. But this distinction excited the envy of Tigellinus, who suborned a slave to accuse Petronius of having been the friend of the conspirator Scevius. As Nero's cruelty predominated over all his other vices, the charge was believed, and Petronius was not even allowed an opportunity of repelling it. Without indulging any weak hopes or fears, he ordered his veins to be opened, but as it was his intention to die at leisure, he commanded them to be bound up, and then opened again. During the interval in which he was suspended between life and death, he conversed with his friends upon trifling subjects, and heard them recite songs and amusing verses. He distributed money to some of his slaves, and inflicted stripes upon others; he regaled himself with feasting, slept, and acted in every way as if he had not the slightest anticipation of death. Instead of flattering Nero or Tigellinus in his last moments, as many of the condemned Romans were mean enough to do, he wrote a description of the lascivious manner in which the emperor spent his nights, and sent it to him sealed: after which he broke his signet, that it might not be used for the purpose of criminating others. This exposure of Nero's secret wickedness caused the banishment of a senator's wife named Silia, who was supposed to have divulged the iniquity of those scenes, to which she had been admitted. Such was the death of Petronius, who is believed by many to be the same Petronius Arbiter, of whose writings some obscene fragments are still extant.

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Lipsius, however, doubts, and other critics deny, their identity.

Having killed so many eminent men, Nero at last (says the historian) desired to destroy virtue itself in the persons of Thræsea Pætus, and Barea Soranus. Thræsea had long been odious at court, because his rigid virtue did not allow him to imitate the servility of the other citizens, and to sanction all the vices and extravagances of Nero. He had often opposed the foolish and cruel decrees of the senate; and it was remarked that when divine honours were voted to Poppæa, he was absent from the house, and did not attend the ceremony of the funeral. For the last three years he had never entered the senate, considering, perhaps, that his individual opposition was far too weak to resist the torrent of corruption. But his absence was imputed to him as a crime: he was accused of being disaffected to the prince, and hostile to the manners and customs of the age, of shunning the various solemnities at which others gave proof of their adulation, and (what in those days was an atrocious crime) of not having sacrificed for the celestial voice of the emperor! Barea Soranus had also exposed himself to the hatred of Nero by the general excellence of his character, and by the justice and zeal which he had displayed when he was proconsul of Asia. He had cleaned out the port of Ephesus, and had forborne to punish the people of Pergamus, who had not permitted the emperor's freedmen to carry away their statues and paintings. It was resolved, therefore, to accuse him of being the friend of Rubellius Plautus, whom Nero had put to death, and of attempting to excite rebellion in his province.

The senators were summoned, and two præ-

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torian cohorts were placed in the temple where they assembled. A band of armed citizens beset the approach to it; soldiers were dispersed through various parts of the city, and all means were employed to intimidate the senators in their deliberations. Nothing could be alleged against Thrasea, except that he had lately secluded himself from all affairs of the state. His son-in-law Helvidius Priscus was implicated in his pretended guilt; and two other persons, named Agrippinus and Montanus, were accused at the same time upon groundless charges. Besides the seditious attempts imputed to Soranus, his enemies had discovered that his daughter Servilia had been imprudent enough to consult magicians respecting the fate of her father, and the event of the trial. She had not yet reached her twentieth year, and had lately been torn from her husband, who had been banished as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Piso. She was now conducted into the senate, and placed opposite her aged father, whose looks she scarcely dared to encounter, as she was conscious that she had unintentionally increased the peril of his situation.

Her pitiless accuser asked her; whether she had not sold her ornaments, in order to raise money for the performance of magical rites. Upon hearing this question, she cast herself upon the ground, and, after shedding a flood of tears and observing a long silence, embraced the altar that was near her, and declared: "I have invoked no impious gods, I have been guilty of no imprecations, nor have I desired more than this one thing in my unfortunate prayers, that thou, O Cæsar, and ye, O senators, would preserve the life of my excellent father. For this purpose I



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have given my jewels and other decorations of my person; and, if it had been required, I would willingly have surrendered my very life's blood. The persons who exercise magical arts have been hitherto unknown to me, and let them be responsible for the nature of their own conduct: I, at least, have never mentioned the prince except with veneration, and in the number of the gods. Whatever I have done, my unhappy father was ignorant of my plans, and if any offence has been committed, I am the only delinquent." Soranus scarcely allowed her time to finish her speech, assuring the senators, that she had not gone with him into Asia, that she was too young to be acquainted with Plautus, and that she was in no way privy to the crimes of her husband. He earnestly entreated them to let him be the only sufferer, and not to punish a daughter whose only offence was an excessive anxiety for the safety of her father; and he was going to rush into the arms of Servilia, but was prevented by the interposition of the lictors. The senators commiserated the unjust fate of all the accused parties, but they were over-awed by the armed bands of the tyrant, and compelled to pass a sentence of condemnation. Thrasea, Soranus, and Servilia, were commanded to put themselves to death, in whatever way they pleased: Helvidius was banished from Italy. Rewards were granted, as usual, to those who had disgraced themselves in the office of accusers.

The day had begun to decline, and Thrasea was spending his time in his gardens with a great number of his friends. His chief attention was directed to Demetrius the Cynic philosopher, and from what transpired of their conversation, they seemed to be discoursing upon the nature of the

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soul, and the separation of the body and spirit. One of his intimate friends informed him of the sentence of the senate, and all who were present began to weep and deplore his fate ; but he advised them to take their leave of him, and not to endanger themselves by their zeal in his behalf. His wife Arria, who was the daughter of the celebrated Arria that had so courageously stabbed herself before her husband Pætus, was desirous of imitating the example of her mother ; but Thræsea wisely forbade her, reminding her that she ought to live for their daughter's sake, and not deprive her of the only succour on which she could rely. Having proceeded to the porch of his house, he was met by the quæstor, who delivered to him the decree of the senate ; and he was gratified by the intelligence that his son-in-law was only to be banished from Italy. Being attended into his chamber by Helvidius and Demetrius, he suffered the veins of both his arms to be opened, and, as soon as the blood began to flow, he sprinkled the ground with it, saying, "Let us make a libation to Jupiter the Liberator."\* He then called the quæstor near him, exhorting him to view his death steadily, as he lived in times in which it was necessary to strengthen the mind by the contemplation of acts of fortitude. His dissolution was slow, and he did not expire until he had suffered great agonies. He appears to have been the most virtuous Roman of the age in which he lived, and amidst the general depravity of his countrymen he exhibited to them a brilliant example of inflexible

\* The same expression was used by Seneca, when he was dying. Lipsius thinks, that it was intended to allude to the custom of the Greeks, who, at their feasts, poured out a libation to *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ*. The words show that both Seneca and Thræsea regarded their death as a liberation from the power of a tyrant.

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integrity and courage. He wrote a life of Cato of Utica, whom probably he contemplated as a model for the direction of his conduct. It seems a strange exception to his usual austerity of behaviour, that he sang in a tragic dress at the games of his native city, Padua. He had offended Nero by the reluctant part which he took in his amusements; and therefore we must suppose that there was something more innocent in the games of his birth-place, or that they were recommended by the antiquity of their origin, which might be traced to Antenor the Trojan.

Dion. lxxiii.  
Suet. vi. 13.

At the time when Thræsea and Soranus were condemned, Tiridates had arrived from the east, according to a promise which he had made three years before, in order to receive the crown of Armenia from Nero's hands. He brought with him not only his own children, but those of Vologeses, Pacorus, and Monobazus, and was escorted by three thousand of the Parthian cavalry, and by many Romans. He travelled the whole way by land\*, descending into Italy through Illyricum, and being received in all the cities through which he passed with great demonstrations of joy and respect. He rode on horseback, and his wife also rode near him covered with a golden helmet to conceal her from the gaze of the crowd, until they arrived in Italy, when chariots were sent to carry them to the emperor, who was at Naples. Tiridates, when urged to lay aside his sword, would not comply; but he bent his knee before Nero, and did obeisance to him, saluting him with the title of his lord. After being entertained with

\* Pliny (Nat. Hist. xxx. 2), says that he was a Magian, and, therefore, scrupulous of committing any pollution in the sea. He returned, however, upon that element from Brundisium to Dyrrachium.

splendid games at Puteoli, he was conducted to Rome, where all the citizens were eager to view the foreign potentate. On an appointed day Nero entered the forum in a triumphal dress, and placed himself on a curule seat on the rostra, being surrounded with the senators and his guards, while bands of soldiers were stationed about the adjoining temples. Tiridates, compelled to use the language of submission and adulation, approached Nero, declaring that he was his slave, that his fate depended upon his mercy, and that he had come to worship him as his god, and as no less than Mithra, or the Sun. Nero commended his prudence, which had induced him to come into his august presence, and assured him that he should feel that he had power to take away and to bestow kingdoms. After this, the Armenian ascended by a sloping stage to the knees of the emperor, who, having raised him with his right hand and kissed him, placed the regal diadem on his head. Tiridates, although placed in these humiliating circumstances, is described as a man of spirit and penetration, besides being distinguished for his beauty and stature. He was as much disgusted with the folly of Nero, in driving chariots and playing on the harp, as he was pleased with the character and achievements of Corbulo; and wondered that so great a general should submit to so contemptible a master. He observed to the emperor, with a sarcasm which he did not understand, "Your Corbulo is an excellent *slave*." But, upon the whole, he so artfully flattered and insinuated himself into the favour of Nero, that he received from him immense presents, and was allowed to take workmen into Armenia for the purpose of rebuilding Artaxata, which he called Neronea, in

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honour of the emperor. In consequence of his submission the salutation of *Imperator* was given to Nero, who deposited a laurel crown in the Capitol, and ordered the temple of Janus to be shut.

Dion. lxxiii.  
Suet. vi. 22—  
25.

Nero was desirous that Vologeses should visit Rome, as well as Tiridates; but the Parthian monarch would not comply with the invitation, and, after being importuned upon the subject, wrote word back, that it was much easier for Nero than himself to perform so long a voyage, and that if he would come into Asia, they might arrange the plan of an interview with one another. The Roman prince was offended at this reply, and, as if he had some warlike intentions in his mind, sent spies to the Caspian Gates, and also into Ethiopia. All his achievements, however, terminated in a peaceful visit to Greece, for the purpose of displaying his accomplishments in singing and driving. Some of the Greek cities, in which there were musical contests, had sent to him all the crowns which were bestowed upon the best performers on the harp. The delegates, who brought them, were received with great courtesy, and entertained at his table. They requested to hear his divine voice; and, after he had sung to them, they applauded him so rapturously, that he declared the Greeks alone had a critical ear, and were competent to judge of his acquirements. He resolved, therefore, to visit their country, and took with him a multitude of men, who, if they had been warriors, would have been numerous enough to have subdued Parthia and other countries of the east; but the descendants of Flaminius and Mummius appeared now as degenerate as the Greeks themselves, carrying the harp instead of the sword,

and wearing masks and buskins, instead of helmets and greaves.

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All the games of Greece were celebrated in the same year, in order that Nero might have an opportunity of appearing in them, and some of them were even repeated during the twelve month. He exhibited himself everywhere, singing and driving chariots, and was rewarded with no less than one thousand eight hundred and eight crowns, all of which probably were granted to his rank more than his skill. At Olympia he drove a chariot yoked with ten horses, although, in one of his poems, he had censured King Mithridates for the same feat. He was thrown out, and was unable to finish the race; but did not, on that account, lose the prize. He sung and sustained various characters in tragedy, and, on one occasion, a spectator, seeing him in an extraordinary situation, asked a by-stander what was the matter with him; to which he replied, *The emperor is in labour*; for he was performing the part of Canace. Whenever he sang, all persons were expected to be loud and vehement in their applause, and were not permitted to leave the theatre even upon the most urgent occasion. They were sometimes confined from morning to night, so that women are said to have been delivered of children there, and other persons pretended to be dead, in order that they might be carried out.

While Nero was in Greece, he attempted to cut through the isthmus of Corinth, so as to effect a junction between the Ionian and Ægean seas, and convert the Peloponnesus into an island. Before the commencement of the work he encouraged his guards by an harangue, and at a signal which was given by the trumpet, he dug the first portion of

Suet. vi. 19.

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earth, and raised it in a basket upon his shoulders. Although multitudes of labourers, many of whom were sent from foreign countries, were employed in the undertaking, it proceeded but slowly. The men were averse to it, and terrified one another with superstitious reports, alleging that blood had issued from the ground, that spectres had been seen, and groans been heard. The attention of Nero was soon occupied by more important affairs, and his attempts, like those of most others, did not succeed in altering the appearance of nature.

Dion. lxxiii.

The profusion with which he lavished his treasures, and the suspicious fear with which he regarded all eminent men, induced him to commit many acts of injustice and cruelty. There were two brothers, Scribonius Rufus and Scribonius Proculus, remarkable for their wealth, the great unanimity of their dispositions, and the similarity of their employments, each having been intrusted for some time with the government of one of the Germanies. They were made the victims of some false accusations, and commanded to come into Greece; but Nero refused to admit them into his presence, and the indignities with which they were treated compelled them to destroy themselves. Corbulo, the greatest general of his age, and whom Nero had been accustomed to call his benefactor and father, was invited into Greece in so honourable a way as not to excite his suspicion. But as soon as he arrived at Cenchreæ, which was the port of Corinth, he was ordered to kill himself. His death, no doubt, had been previously resolved upon; although some reported that the emperor was going to play upon the harp, and was ashamed to be seen in his musical dress by so great a man. As soon as Corbulo received the fatal command, he

seized a sword, and, wounding himself with great violence, exclaimed "I deserve it;" for he repented at last of having maintained a scrupulous allegiance towards the emperor, and of venturing unarmed into the presence of so faithless a master. If his ambition had been equal to his power, he might have passed sentence of execution upon Nero, instead of being condemned by him; but his rigid justice and fidelity prevented him from aspiring to the imperial dignity, of which all men pronounced him worthy. He was a man of great stature, pompous in his language, and able to win the admiration of the soldiers by external appearances, as well as intrinsic merit. He is said to have written some account of places in the East, and of his own achievements there.

NERO,  
13, 14.  
A. D. 67.

Nero, as if he had resolved to commit every species of folly and atrocity, married a man named Sporus (whom he called Sabina, on account of his resemblance to his late wife Poppæa), and the nuptials were celebrated by all the Greeks. Rome and Italy were left under the tyrannical government of a freedman named Helius, who banished the citizens, confiscated their property, and even put knights and senators to death, without asking the permission of Nero. The empire; therefore, was oppressed by the cruelty of two masters, Nero and Helius, and it was doubted which of them exercised the more arbitrary sway. Helius, however, was anxious for the emperor's return; but when he urged him upon that subject, he received for reply, that his chief desire should be, that Nero might return with an increase of his musical fame. After writing many fruitless letters, Helius at last went over to Greece, and terrified him by the information that a great conspiracy was being con-

Dion. lxxiii.  
Suet. vi.  
23—25.



NERO,  
13, 14.  
A. D. 67.

certed at Rome. He prepared, therefore, to 'quit Greece, after having afflicted it by his cruelty and rapine for the space of a twelvemonth. Before his departure he rewarded the judges, whose partiality had allotted him so many crowns, and declared the whole province of Greece to be free. He himself was the herald of this great boon, proclaiming it with his own voice from the middle of the stadium during the celebration of the Isthmian games.

In his voyage to Italy he encountered a tempest, and some persons were put to death for rashly expressing their hopes that he might be destroyed by it. Having landed in safety, he entered Naples, which was the first city in which he had publicly exhibited his musical skill, in a chariot drawn by white horses, and through a breach made in the walls, because that was the customary mode of receiving those who had been victors in the Grecian games. In a similar manner he entered Antium and Albanum; but when he arrived at Rome, he ascended the chariot in which Augustus had so often triumphed, wearing the Olympic crown on his head, and carrying the Pythian in his right hand. His other crowns were borne before him, with inscriptions denoting the places in which they had been gained, and the species of contest for which they had been awarded; nor was it omitted that Nero Cæsar was the first of the Romans who had ever been honoured with victories of that nature. The streets, as he passed along, were strewed with saffron, the altars smoked with incense and sacrifices, while the people and the senators saluted him with the flattering titles of *Hercules* and *Apollo*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Julius Vindex instigates the Gauls to revolt.—*

*Writes to Galba, the Governor of Spain, who seconds his projects, and declares himself Lieutenant of the Senate.—Nero at first disregards the insurrection in Gaul.—Is terrified, and returns to Rome, but adopts no effective precautions.*

*—Deposes the two Consuls, and prepares for an expedition into Gaul.—Verginius Rufus having taken up arms in defence of Nero, his troops rout those of Vindex, who kills himself in despair.—*

*Verginius refuses the imperial dignity which is offered to him by his soldiers.—Galba in great difficulty and consternation.—Nymphidius per-*

*suades the prætorian guards to forsake Nero.—The Emperor flies from Rome, and secretes himself.—Being declared an enemy by the Senate, he, after much irresolution, puts himself to death.—Is buried in the tomb of the Domitii.—The last of the Cæsars.—His exterior, character, and superstition.—The Romans exult at his death,*

*but some continue to honour his memory.*

THE power of Nero, after it had oppressed and degraded the Roman empire for a period of nearly fourteen years, at length received a fatal concussion.

C. Julius Vindex, who governed the province of Celtic Gaul, with the title of proprætor, was distinguished both for strength of body and prudence of mind, for great skill in military affairs, and for a courage that enabled him to take the lead in

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

Dion. lxiil.  
Suet. vi. 40.

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

dangerous enterprises. He derived his origin from the ancient kings of Gaul, and by his father had acquired the rank of a senator of Rome. Disgusted by the tyranny of Nero, he assembled his countrymen together, and, after expatiating upon his unparalleled atrocities, openly exhorted them to renounce the authority of so detestable a ruler. The Gauls, who were suffering under a grievous load of pecuniary exactions, were not slow in listening to the proposal; so that Vindex soon found himself at the head of a numerous and powerful faction.

Suet. vii. 9,  
10.

But although he had resolved to overthrow the tyranny of Nero, he was not sufficiently ambitious, nor sufficiently confident in his own resources, to aim at the imperial dignity for himself. He wrote, therefore, to Servius Sulpicius Galba, who enjoyed an eminent reputation, and had been for some years governor of Spain\*, conjuring him to place himself at the head of the empire, and to vindicate the liberty of the human race. Galba, at that time, was holding an assembly at New Carthage, and had received letters from the lieutenant of Aquitania, beseeching him to send succours for the purpose of checking the movements of Vindex. He did not deliberate long, as both his hopes and fears incited him to favour the commotions in Gaul. Some favourable auspices and omens, to which the wisest pagans attached an unreasonable importance, seemed to promise him great success and dignity; and, what was a far stronger incentive to enterprise, he learned that Nero had sent secret instructions that he should be put to death. Urged, therefore, by his own imminent peril, he ascended the tribunal, as if he was about to give manumis-

\* Tarraconensis.

sion to some slaves; but he ordered a great many statues of persons who had been murdered by Nero, to be set before him, as memorials of his cruelty, and began to deplore the miserable state of the times in which they lived. His adherents, who were probably prepared for such a scene, saluted him *Emperor*; he declined this lofty title, but openly styled himself *Lieutenant of the Senate and of the Roman People*.

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

As he had but one legion under his command, he commenced a levy of troops throughout his province; he selected the most aged and prudent of his officers, who were to assist him by their counsel, and form a kind of senate; and he also chose some youths of the equestrian order, who were to serve as his body guard. At the same time, he dispersed edicts through the provinces, inviting all persons to join the confederacy, and to promote the common cause by their strenuous exertions.

Information respecting the revolt in Gaul was received by Nero at Naples, towards the end of March, as it arrived on the anniversary of the day on which he had killed his mother. Having lately become infatuated with an opinion of his good fortune, he heard the tidings with indifference, and, as some thought, with secret pleasure, as they gave him a specious opportunity of plundering the rich province of Gaul, according to the rights of war. Instead of taking measures to avert the danger, he went and beheld the wrestlers exercise; when still more unfavourable intelligence was brought to him at supper time, he threatened the insurgents with his displeasure; yet, for eight successive days, he issued no orders for resisting their progress, but maintained an unreasonable silence upon the subject. . At length the frequent and insulting

Suet. vi. 40,  
41.

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

edicts of Vindex induced him to write to the Senate; requesting them to avenge the dignity of himself and the republic; and he excused his absence from Rome, on the plea of having a sore throat. Nothing gave him greater mortification, than that his enemies presumed to call him a bad musician, and to give him the name of Ænobarbus, instead of Nero. To manifest his contempt of their insolence, he declared, that he would resume that ancient cognomen of his family; and he thought, that their injustice in upbraiding him with ignorance of an art, on which he had bestowed so much sedulous attention, was a refutation of all their other charges; for, as he complacently asked the by-standers, "Did they know any one who was a better player than himself?" He deemed his musical skill not only a most noble accomplishment, but an unfailing resource in case of any reverse of fortune; for when the astrologers predicted to him, that he should one day be forsaken, he replied, that art could support itself in any country.

Terrified by the constant accumulation of evil tidings, he resolved to return to Rome. On his road thither, he observed, on a certain monument, the representation of a Gaul overcome by a Roman knight; and this trifling omen so elated him, that he leaped for joy, and offered adoration to the heavens. When he arrived at the capital, he did not convene either the senate or the people, but summoned some of the principal citizens to his palace, and, having held a hasty consultation with them, spent the remainder of the day in showing them some hydraulic instruments of a new construction for playing music. He explained to them minutely the nature of the contrivance,

descanted upon its difficulty, and declared, that he would produce them in the theatre, if Vindex would permit him. A price was set upon the head of that commander, and the troops, which were mustering in the East for a war against the Albanians, were recalled. But when Nero heard that the Spanish provinces had revolted under Galba, he was overwhelmed with grief and terror, and lay for some time speechless and almost dead; and upon his recovery, he tore his garments, beat his head, and exclaimed that he was ruined. He did not, however, omit his usual course of luxury and amusement, and when some more favourable news arrived from the provinces, his spirits appeared to revive, and he sang at a splendid entertainment lewd and satirical verses upon the leaders of the insurrection.

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

Tac. Hist. i. 6.  
Suet. vi. 42.

He is supposed at the beginning of the revolt to have entertained many atrocious projects, such as poisoning all the senators, setting the city on fire, and letting wild beasts loose upon the miserable inhabitants; these and other plans of cruelty were said, however, to have been abandoned by him, not from any feelings of compunction, but from his inability to execute them. Thinking it necessary to make an expedition into Gaul, he deposed the two consuls before their time had expired, and invested himself alone with the dignity of their office. Having assumed the fasces, he declared to his friends that, when he arrived in the province, he would present himself unarmed before the rebellious troops, and do nothing but weep; that after recalling them to a sense of their duty, he would on the following day, amidst the general rejoicing, sing songs of victory, which (he said) ought to be immediately composed for him. In preparing for his journey,

Suet. vi. 43  
—46.  
Dion. lxxiii.

NERO,  
14.  
A D. 68.

his chief anxiety was to provide vehicles for carrying his theatrical apparatus, and to dress the concubines, who were to follow him, like men, and to arm them with Amazonian axes and bucklers. He demanded contributions from the citizens; and his rigorous exactions, together with the scarcity of provisions, exposed him to loud complaints and reproachful insults\*. Many omens, portending his destruction, were remembered or invented by the credulous; and among others it was remarked, that the last play, in which he publicly performed, was *Œdipus in Exile*, and that he fell while he was reciting the following words :

“My father, mother, wife, all bid me die.”†

Dion. lxi.iii.  
Plut. vit. Gal.  
Tac. Hist. i.  
51, 52.

While the revolt against the authority of Nero was spreading both in Gaul and Spain, Verginius Rufus, who commanded the province of Upper Germany, took up arms in his defence, and marched with great promptitude against the insurgents. Many of the cities of Gaul had preserved their allegiance; but on his arrival at Vesontio‡, the inhabitants refused to receive him, and he made preparations for besieging their town. Vindex marched to their succour; but when he was at a short distance, the two commanders agreed to hold a conference with each other. The meeting was so private, that no third person was allowed to be present, and it was merely conjectured that they had entered into some compact for the overthrow of Nero's tyranny. Whatever their stipulations

\* Some of the witticisms, in which the Romans indulged, can hardly be translated into English. It was written on the pillars in the city, that he had roused even *Gallus* (the Gauls or the Cocks), by his singing. Many persons used to pretend to quarrel with their slaves at night, in order to have the satisfaction of calling out for *Vindex*, another equivocal term.

† Θανεῖν μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμος, μήτηρ, πατήρ.

‡ Besançon.

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

were, they did not adopt sufficient means to communicate them to their troops, and to insure their obedience. For Vindex advanced with his army as if he was about to take possession of the town; and the troops of Verginius, observing this movement, and thinking it was directed against themselves, fell upon them, while they were quite unprepared for such an attack, and put them to a complete rout. Vindex, seeing this unexpected end of his projects, and thinking, perhaps, that he had been treated with perfidy, killed himself; although many persons, who inflicted wounds on his dead body, claimed the glory of having slain him.

Verginius is said to have greatly deplored an event, which happened either by his remissness, or by his inability to curb the ferocity of his soldiers. The sovereign power seemed now at his absolute disposal, and although his troops frequently urged him to accept it, he declined the tempting offer. He was a man of equestrian family, and had derived little lustre from his ancestors; but he was active and zealous, and had sufficient power to aggrandize himself (if he had so desired), amidst the convulsions which had begun to agitate the Roman Empire. For his soldiers, being seized with the general disaffection to Nero, pulled down the statues of the emperor, and saluted their own general with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. But he firmly resisted their proposals, and when he found the imperial names written on one of his standards, he ordered them to be erased. He had great difficulty in restraining the ardour of his soldiers, and in persuading them to leave the choice of a sovereign to the authority of the senate and people, to whom he considered that it rightfully belonged. This wisdom and forbearance, although



NERO,  
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A. D. 68.

they deprived him of the brief possession of a dangerous power, procured him the cordial applause of all virtuous men, and enabled him to live in tranquility many years after the most forward competitors for the imperial dignity had perished in their ambitious struggles.

Suet. vii.  
10, 11.  
Plut. Vit. Gal.  
Tac. Ann. xv.  
72.

Galba's operations in Spain did not proceed so successfully as they had commenced; for part of his cavalry began to repent of the scheme in which they had engaged, and he was nearly assassinated by some slaves, who were given to him for that purpose by a freedman of Nero. While he was discouraged by these events, information of the death of Vindex almost filled him with despair, and he began to deliberate whether he should not destroy himself. But that crisis, which the armies of Spain and Gaul seemed unable to effect, was accomplished by the intrigues of an individual at Rome. Nymphidius Sabinus, a man of low origin, was præfect of the prætorian guards in conjunction with Tigellinus. His mother, who was a freedwoman, had been distinguished for some personal attractions, which she prostituted among the slaves and attendants about the court; and as Nymphidius happened to be tall and of a fierce countenance, he boasted he was the son of the Emperor Caligula. Observing the perilous situation in which Nero was placed, and anxious to further his own ambitious projects, he persuaded the prætorian guards to desert him, promising them a very large gratuity in the name of Galba. This artifice succeeded; and Nero, with his chief provinces in rebellion, soon found himself forsaken by his guards and by the citizens of Rome.

Suet. vi.  
47—49.  
Dion. lxxiii.

Alarmed by the fearful tidings which he received respecting the disposition of his armies, Nero had

retired into the Servilian gardens, taking with him in a golden box a dose of poison, which he had received from Locusta. Having dispatched the most faithful of his freedmen to Ostia, in order to prepare some vessels for putting to sea, he explored the sentiments of the tribunes and centurions of the guards, whether they would be willing to accompany him in his flight. Some openly refused, others clearly evinced their reluctance, and one man upbraided him in the words of Virgil, exclaiming,

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

Æn. xii. 646.

“ Is it so hard a thing to die ? ”

Finding that he could place no reliance on their fidelity, he began to deliberate whether he should take refuge among the Parthians, or entreat the protection of Galba, or even appear in the forum in mourning apparel, and beseech the forgiveness of the citizens for his past delinquencies, trusting that at least they would grant him the office of præfect of Egypt. The execution of any of these dangerous schemes was deferred until the following day. But about midnight, being awaked from his slumbers, he found that his military guard had forsaken him, and, leaping from his bed in dismay, he dispersed his friends to seek for them. When they brought him no intelligence, he himself undertook the search ; but, wherever he went, he found the doors fastened, and no one answered to his call. On returning to his chamber he discovered that his attendants had fled from it, and had carried away even the coverlets of his bed, and his box of poison. In a paroxysm of despair he called for Spicillus the gladiator, or any one else who would have courage to stab him ; and when there was no one to undertake such an office, he ex-

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

claimed, "Have I then neither friend nor foe?" and he rushed out, as if he intended to throw himself into the Tiber.

When he became more composed, he was desirous of secreting himself, and his freedman Phaon offered him his villa, which was about four miles from Rome, between the Salarian and Nomentan roads. He set out for this place on horse-back bare-footed, wrapped in an old cloak, and escorted by only four attendants, among whom were Sporus and Epaphroditus. Everything contributed to oppress his courage, and terrify his guilty conscience; for there was a sudden earthquake, the lightning flashed in his face, and, as he passed by the prætorian camp, he heard the soldiers shouting in favour of Galba, and execrating himself. Some persons, whom he met on the road, thought that he and his party were in pursuit of Nero; others asked them, if there were any news respecting the emperor; and once when he was obliged to uncover his face, he was recognized and saluted by an old guard. When he approached the villa, as he was afraid of entering at the front gate, he dismounted from his horse, and garments being laid under his feet, he passed with difficulty through thickets and brambles to the back of the house. Phaon requested him to hide himself for a short time in a sand-pit, but he declared that he would not be buried alive; and while he was waiting, he took some water to drink out of a ditch, exclaiming, "This is Nero's sweet beverage."\* At last he gained

\* In the Latin it is *decocta*, or boiled water. It appears that the ancients boiled that liquor, before they drank it. Herodotus relates (i. 188) that when the King of Persia travelled, the water of the river Choaspes was carried for him in silver vessels, after it had undergone the process of boiling.

admission into the house by creeping through a narrow hole; and, having thrown himself on an humble bed, he spent the remainder of the night in ceaseless trepidation, being alarmed at every sound which he heard. Although exhausted with hunger and thirst, he refused some coarse bread which was offered him, but drank a little warm water.

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14.  
A. D. 68.

His attendants, aware of the ignominious fate which would soon overtake him, urged him to anticipate it by a voluntary death. He ordered them, therefore, to dig a grave of the same dimensions as his body, to adorn it with whatever pieces of marble they could collect together, and to get water and wood ready for the purposes of washing and burning his corpse. While these preparations were proceeding, he continued to weep, and every now and then exclaimed, "Oh! that such a performer as I should perish!" In the mean time, the senate at Rome had declared him a public enemy, and ordered that he should be apprehended, and punished according to ancient custom. Information respecting this decree was brought by one of the messengers of Phaon; and when Nero received it, he enquired what was the nature of the punishment which was specified. As soon as he understood that the criminal was stripped naked, fastened by his neck to a stake, and scourged to death, he was so terrified, that he drew out two daggers (which he had brought with him), as if he intended instantly to stab himself; but, after feeling their points, he replaced them, alleging that the fatal hour had not yet come. He commanded Sporus to begin a funeral lamentation, and even requested that some one would set him an example how to die courageously; for he was not insensible of his own pusillanimity, and upbraided himself

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14.  
A. D. 68.

for a weakness which he could not conquer. At last the approach of some horsemen, who had been dispatched from Rome to apprehend him, convinced him that there was no further time for irresolution. Having exclaimed in Greek, "The prance of winged coursers strikes my ear,"\* he applied the dagger to his throat, but even then had not strength and courage to give himself the fatal blow, until he was assisted by Epaphroditus. Before he was dead, a centurion rushed into the room, and applying his cloak to the wound, pretended that he had come to his assistance; but Nero said, "It is too late," and reproachfully asked him, "Is this your fidelity?" After uttering these words he expired, while his eyes stiffened and started from his head in such a manner, as terrified those who beheld him.

Suet. vi. 49—  
57.  
Dion. lxiii.

It had been his most earnest request to his attendants, that his head should not be separated from his body, but that he should be burnt entire. This favour was allowed by Icelus, the freedman of Galba, who at the beginning of the revolt had been thrown into prison, but was now of importance enough to take a part in the direction of affairs. By his permission, the funeral of Nero was conducted with considerable splendour, his remains being deposited in the tomb of the Domitii, by his two nurses and by his concubine Acte.

Nero destroyed himself on the 9th or 11th of June, the same day on which he had formerly killed his wife Octavia. He died in the thirty-first year of his age, having abused the imperial power for thirteen years and nearly eight months. He was considered the last of the Cæsars, although he was not related to that illustrious house, except on

\* "Ἰππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει.—Il. v. 535.

his mother's side, and by the privilege of adoption. We are gravely informed by ancient historians, that the destruction of the family of the Cæsars, was clearly portended by the failure of a breed of chickens, which Livia had reared, and by the death of some laurels, which she had planted, under rather extraordinary circumstances! For as she was travelling to her villa, shortly after her marriage with Augustus, an eagle dropped into her lap a white hen with a sprig of laurel in its mouth; both of which, under proper nurture, were exceedingly prolific, until the end of the Cæsars approached!

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

Suet. vi. 7. 1.

Nero was a little below the ordinary stature; his body was spotted in a disagreeable manner, his hair rather yellow, his eyes grey and dull, his countenance not ill formed, but devoid of comeliness, his neck very thick, as may be observed in his medals, his abdomen large, and his legs slender. Although he indulged in the most immoderate luxury, he was seldom ill, and never so severely, as to compel him to abstain from wine and his usual diet. His conduct, except at the beginning of his reign, was a tissue of every thing that is foul and sanguinary. A vicious disposition, and a loose education under a profligate mother, the licence of absolute power enjoyed at an early age, and the corrupt solicitations with which others assailed his youth, seem to have been the causes which impelled him to the commission of the grossest crimes and follies, and have rendered his name detestable, as that of a monster, rather than of a human being. Although he despised the religious rites of his country, he was not free from superstition. The Syrian goddess\* was for a time the object of his

\* Atergate or Astarte.

NERO,  
14.  
A. D. 68.

adoration, but was afterwards treated by him with contempt and insult. The idol which received the greatest share of his worship was a little image of a girl, which had been given him by some unknown person from among the people, as a protection against conspirators. It happened immediately afterwards, that a plot was detected; and this circumstance gave him such confidence in his new deity, that he offered it three sacrifices every day, and wished to persuade others, that it inspired him with a knowledge of futurity.

The death of Nero occasioned at first such joy at Rome, that the people ran about the streets with caps on their heads, in imitation of slaves who had just received their liberty. Many, however, for a long time adorned his tomb with flowers, both in spring and summer: they even placed his images in the rostra, and issued edicts in his name, as if he was still alive, and would soon return to inflict vengeance on his enemies. Vologeses also, the Parthian king, when he sent ambassadors to the senate concerning a renewal of his alliance with the Romans, made an earnest request, that the memory of Nero should be duly honoured.

# LIST OF CONSULS,

FROM

THIRD YEAR OF AUGUSTUS TO LAST YEAR OF NERO.

[B. C. 27 TO A. D. 68.]

|                                   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | B. C. |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| Emp. Augustus, v.                 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 29    |
| Sex. Apuleius                     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Augustus, vi.                | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 28    |
| M. Agrippa, ii.                   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Augustus, vii.               | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 27    |
| M. Agrippa, iii.                  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Augustus, viii.              | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 26    |
| T. Statilius Taurus               |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Augustus, ix.                | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 25    |
| M. Junius Silanus                 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Augustus, x.                 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 24    |
| C. Norbanus Flaccus               |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Augustus, xi.                | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 23    |
| Cn. Calpurnius Piso               |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| M. Claudius Marcellus Æserninus   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | 22    |
| L. Arruntius                      |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| M. Lollius                        | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 21    |
| Q. Æmilius Lepidus                |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| M. Apuleius                       | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 20    |
| P. Silius Nerva                   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| C. Sentius Saturninus             | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 19    |
| Q. Lucretius                      |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 18    |
| Cn. Cornelius Lentulus            |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |



|                                        | B. C. <sup>4</sup> |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------|
| C. Furnius - - - - -                   | 17                 |
| C. Junius Silanus                      |                    |
| L. Domitius Ænobarbus - - - - -        | 16                 |
| P. Cornelius Scipio                    |                    |
| M. Drusus Libo - - - - -               | 15                 |
| L. Calpurnius Piso                     |                    |
| M. Licinius Crassus - - - - -          | 14                 |
| Cn. Cornelius Lentulus                 |                    |
| Tib. Claudius Nero - - - - -           | 13                 |
| P. Quintilius Varus                    |                    |
| M. Valerius Messala Barbatus - - - - - | 12                 |
| P. Sulpicius Quirinius                 |                    |
| Q. Ælius Tubero - - - - -              | 11                 |
| Paulus Fabius Maximus                  |                    |
| Julius Antonius - - - - -              | 10                 |
| Q. Fabius Africanus                    |                    |
| Claudius Nero Drusus - - - - -         | 9                  |
| T. Quintius Crispinus                  |                    |
| C. Asinius Gallus - - - - -            | 8                  |
| C. Marcius Censorinus                  |                    |
| Tib. Claudius Nero, ii. - - - - -      | 7                  |
| Cn. Calpurnius Piso, ii.               |                    |
| D. Lælius Balbus - - - - -             | 6                  |
| G. Antistius Vetus                     |                    |
| Emp. Augustus, xii. - - - - -          | 5                  |
| L. Cornelius Sylla                     |                    |
| C. Calvisius Sabinus - - - - -         | 4                  |
| L. Passienus Rufus                     |                    |
| L. Cornelius Lentulus - - - - -        | 3                  |
| M. Valerius Messalinus                 |                    |
| Emp. Augustus, xiii. - - - - -         | 2                  |
| M. Plautius Silvanus                   |                    |
| Cossus Cornelius Lentulus - - - - -    | 1                  |
| L. Calpurnius Piso                     |                    |

|                                         | A. D. |
|-----------------------------------------|-------|
| C. Julius Cæsar - - - - -               | 1     |
| L. Æmilius Paulus                       |       |
| P. Vinicius - - - - -                   | 2     |
| P. Alfenus Varus                        |       |
| M. Ælius Lama - - - - -                 | 3     |
| M. Servilius                            |       |
| Sex. Ælius Catus - - - - -              | 4     |
| C. Sentius Saturninus                   |       |
| Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus - - - - -    | 5     |
| L. Valerius Messala Volusus             |       |
| M. Æmilius Lepidus - - - - -            | 6     |
| L. Arruntius                            |       |
| Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus - - - - - | 7     |
| A. Licinius Nerva Silanus               |       |
| Furius Camillus - - - - -               | 8     |
| Sex. Nonius Quintilianus                |       |
| Q. Sulpicius Camerinus - - - - -        | 9     |
| Q. Poppæus Secundus                     |       |

*On the abdication of the former,*

|                                  |    |
|----------------------------------|----|
| M. Pappius Mutilus               |    |
| P. Cornelius Dolabella - - - - - | 10 |
| C. Junius Silanus                |    |
| M. Æmilius Lepidus - - - - -     | 11 |
| T. Statilius Taurus              |    |
| Germanicus Cæsar - - - - -       | 12 |
| C. Fonteius Capito               |    |
| L. Munatius Plancus - - - - -    | 13 |
| C. Silius Cæcina                 |    |
| Sex. Pompeius - - - - -          | 14 |
| Sex. Apuleius                    |    |
| Drusus Cæsar - - - - -           | 15 |
| C. Norbanus Flaccus              |    |

|                                       | A. D. |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| T. Statilius Sisenna Taurus - - - - - | 16    |
| L. Scribonius Liko                    |       |
| C. Cæcilius Rufus - - - - -           | 17    |
| L. Pomponius Flaccus                  |       |
| Emp. Tiberius, iii. - - - - -         | 18    |
| Germanicus Cæsar, ii.                 |       |
| M. Junius Silanus - - - - -           | 19    |
| L. Norbanus Balbus                    |       |
| M. Valerius Messala - - - - -         | 20    |
| M. Aurelius Cotta                     |       |
| Emp. Tiberius, iv. - - - - -          | 21    |
| Drusus Cæsar, ii.                     |       |
| C. Sulp. Galba - - - - -              | 22    |
| D. Haterius Agrippa                   |       |
| C. Asinius Pollio - - - - -           | 23    |
| C. Antistius Vetus                    |       |
| Sex. Cornelius Cethegus - - - - -     | 24    |
| Visellius Varro                       |       |
| Coss. Corn. Lentulus - - - - -        | 25    |
| M. Asinius Agrippa                    |       |
| Cn. Lentulus Getulicus - - - - -      | 26    |
| C. Calvisius Sabinus                  |       |
| M. Licinius Crassus - - - - -         | 27    |
| L. Calpurnius Piso                    |       |
| App. Junius Silanus - - - - -         | 28    |
| P. Silius Nerva                       |       |
| C. Rubilius Geminus - - - - -         | 29    |
| C. Fufius Geminus                     |       |
| M. Vinicius - - - - -                 | 30    |
| L. Cass. Longinus                     |       |
| Emp. Tiberius, v. - - - - -           | 31    |
| L. Ælius Sejanus                      |       |
| Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus - - - - -      | 32    |
| M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus       |       |

A. D.

Ser. Sulp. Galba - - - - - 33  
L. Cornelius Sylla

Paullus Fabius Persicus - - - - - 34  
L. Vitellius

C. Cestius Gallus - - - - - 35  
M. Servilius

Q. Plautius - - - - - 36  
Sex. Papinius

Cn. Acerronius Proculus - - - - - 37  
C. Pontius Nigrinus

*In July:—*

Emp. Caius  
Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus

M. Aquilius Julianus - - - - - 38  
P. Nonius Asprenas

Emp. Caius, ii. - - - - - 39  
L. Apronius Cæsianus

Emp. Caius, iii. (*Sole Consul*) - - - - - 40

Emp. Caius, iv. - - - - - 41  
Cn. Sentius Saturninus

Emp. Claudius, ii. - - - - - 42  
C. Cæcina Largus

Emp. Claudius, iii. - - - - - 43  
L. Vitellius, ii.

L. Quintius Crispinus - - - - - 44  
M. Statilius Taurus

M. Vinicius, ii. - - - - - 45  
T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus

Valerius Asiaticus - - - - - 46  
M. Junius Silanus

Emp. Claudius, iv. - - - - - 47  
L. Vitellius, iii.

Aulus Vitellius - - - - - 48  
L. Vipsianus

|                             |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | A. D. |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 49    |
| Q. Veranius                 | " |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| C. Antistius Vetus          | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 50    |
| M. Sulpicius Rufus          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | "     |
| Emp. Claudius, v.           | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 51    |
| Ser. Cornelius Orfitus      |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| P. Cornelius Sylla          | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 52    |
| L. Salvius Otho Titianus    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| D. Junius Silanus           | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 53    |
| Q. Haterius                 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| M. Asinius Marcellus        | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 54    |
| M'. Acilius Aviola          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Nero                   | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 55    |
| L. Antistius Vetus          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Q. Volusius Saturninus      | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 56    |
| P. Cornelius Scipio         |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Nero, ii.              | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 57    |
| L. Calpurnius Piso          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Nero, iii.             | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 58    |
| Valerius Messala            |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| C. Vipsianus Apronianus     | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 59    |
| C. Fonteius Capito          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| Emp. Nero, iv.              | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 60    |
| Gossus Cornelius Lentulus   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| C. Cæsonius Pætus           | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 61    |
| P. Petronius Turpilianus    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| P. Marius Celsus            | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 62    |
| L. Asinius Gallus           |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| C. Memmius Regulus          | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 63    |
| L. Verginius Rufus          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| C. Lecanius Bassus          | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 64    |
| M. Licinius Cræsus          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |
| P. Silius Nerva             | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 65    |
| C. Julius Agricola Vestinus |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |       |

|                                        | A.D. |
|----------------------------------------|------|
| C. Suetonius Paullinus - • - - - - - - | 66   |
| L. Pontius Telesinus                   |      |
| L. Fonteius Capito - - - - - - - •     | 67   |
| C. Julius Rufus                        |      |
| C. Silius Italicus - - - - - - - -     | 68   |
| M. Galerius Trachalus                  |      |

END OF VOL. I.









